HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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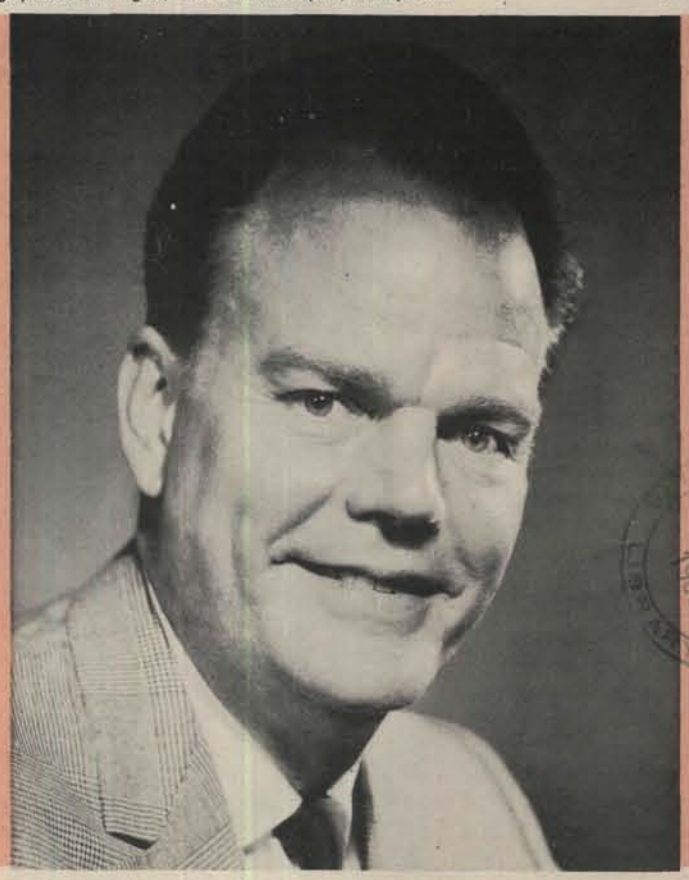
"It can happen here, America"

PAUL HARVEY

SEE PAGE 93



WRITES PAUL HARVEY:

Mr. Lincoln said that a tyrant would not come to the United States from across the seas. If he comes, he'll ride down Pennsylvania Avenue from his inauguration and take up "legal" residency of the White House.

We're moving toward that end at a hellish rate!

I will not let myself believe we have already passed the point of no return. I have a son. I will not let myself believe it.

But I know it can happen here, and I dedicate whatever is left of my life to seeing that it does not.

Big City Betrayal Bloc Does it again

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman's bill providing for higher feed grain prices—therefore, higher food prices—passed the House of Representatives by 208 to 196.

Seven changed votes would have reversed the decision. But 54 Big City Democratic Congressmen—with no farms in their districts—voted for the bill. The Betrayal Bloc is listed on page 86.

DIGGS

DINGELL

GRIFFITHS

LESINSKI

NEDZI

RYAN

Example No. 1 of Big City Betrayal: All six Wayne County (Detroit) Congressmen backed the Freeman bill. Big City Democratic Congressmen believe—like Harry Hopkins—that their constituents are "too damned dumb to understand."

UNION DEMANDS KILL RAILROAD

By Vrest Orton

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THE KREMLIN'S SQUEEZE ON MAO

By Rodney Gilbert

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NEWS-STRAIGHT FROM WASHINGTON

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Irving Potash, Communist Agent Illegally in U. S., Is Director of Party's Labor Union Operation

By VICTOR RIESEL

New York—One man shuttles steadily and speedily across the United States planting Communist party cells in the nation's strategic industries.

Legally this man has no right to operate or even to be inside the United States. But it is a measure of freedom in this land that there appears to be little to stop him under our laws though he is an avowed agent of a party tied into an international apparatus supporting America's enemies.

His name is Irving Potash and it can be revealed that he is the American Communist party's labor chief. He is paid by the Communists. He spends most of his time directing Communist efforts to infiltrate U. S. basic industries. When he is not in Communist party headquarters here on Manhattan's West Side, he is in one of the land's industrial concentrations.

Within the past month he has been to Detroit and Chicago. He is eager to develop action cells in the auto, steel and rail unions—disciplined cadres which would respond instantaneously to Communist direction.

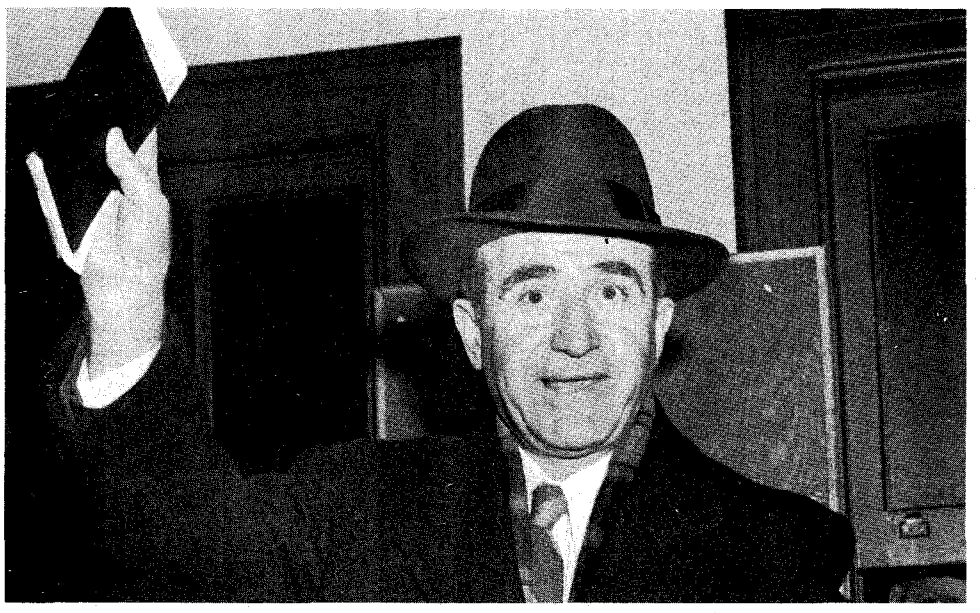
Yet, Irving Potash is in this nation illegally. His is a story of international intrigue—as documented as it is melodramatic. He slipped secretly into this country late in 1956.

This saga starts in 1949 when he went to trial under the Smith Act. Until then he had been vice president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union—then a heavily infiltrated organization. He was a power far beyond this union, for he was one of the charter members of the American Communist party. And his assignment always has been labor, infiltration of CIO unions, leadership of the secret Communist caucus inside the old CIO.

Then, in 1951, Potash and 10 other members of the Communist high command were jailed and fined. On release Potash, a Russian native, was brought before the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He was ordered deported. He left on the SS Saxonia on March 4, 1955.

Once behind the Curtain, he held a series of meetings and briefings with his superiors. He set up residence in Warsaw. Then he went to Prague and to Moscow and finally to Communist China. Wherever he traveled he met with the highest authorities. He knew American labor and what he knew he imparted as a disciplined Communist.

Suddenly he disappeared. When next seen he was sitting in the Alps



IRVING POTASH

Ordered deported in 1955, Potash is shown here waving his passport before embarking on the SS Saxonia. He is now back in this country.

Restaurant, 74 Pondfield Road, Bronxville—a fashionable New York suburb. Two special agents of the FBI recognized him as the man who some years ago had voluntarily accepted deportation—that is, he had not challenged the deportation order. They brought Potash in. That was on the night of Jan. 4, 1957.

Soon he was before the Immigration Service again. He was given the full benefit of our laws. When questioned, he stood mute. Then he was tried for illegal entry. He was sentenced to two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary and fined $1,000.

He left the Atlanta prison on Aug. 26, 1958. Then there was little this government could do. Potash was free—and is free because he can't be deported. The anti-Communist lands won't have him. And the Communist nations, of course, want him here.

He is merely required to report to the New York Immigration and Naturalization Service four times a year—a short subway trip from his home and party office. He is free to travel the land. There is only one slight restriction. If he plans to be away from New York City for more than 48 hours he must write the service.

Thus, once again, he directs the Communist party's national labor action section. Once more he is in the party's high command. He travels freely to see his contacts—or to set them up. He appears to be amply supplied with funds. It takes money to fly in and out of Detroit, a city with which he appears to be particularly fascinated.

The other day the Justice Department asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to order Potash to register with the government as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. But it will be years before he exhausts his rights in our courts.

It would be fascinating to see what Potash's comrades in Moscow would do if we openly planted a labor organizer in the Soviets.

(Distributed 1963 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

More Regimentation

From the Richmond *News Leader*

The story is told of a venerable colonel, out in the Midwest, who devoted forty years of his life to the compilation of a definitive work to be entitled, *Pre-eminent Scoundrels of Boone County, Mo.* The work was never finished. Every time the colonel would count the job complete and wipe his pen dry, another candidate would come along too vile to be left out.

We think of the old gentleman's labor rather frequently these days. Our own compendium bears the tentative title of *Outstanding Lunacies of the Federal Government.* There seems to be no end to these entries either.

All of which is by way of calling attention to a decree of the General Services Administration regulating the size of chemical catalogues. The story comes from an unregimented, unreconstructed fellow by the name of Dan Broida, head of the Sigma Chemical Co. in St. Louis. For ten years, his company had been the largest single supplier of research biochemicals to the federal government. But last year, word came down from on high that dealers in such chemicals would have to publish catalogues of a standard size. Sigma's catalogue is 6 by 9 inches; other dealers' catalogues were 8 by 10; some, perhaps, were 7 by 9. This created a messy shelf in federal offices. The decree came down.

As Mr. Broida tells the tale, "Henceforth anyone who wants to sell Uncle Sam must spend thousands of dollars to produce a 'U. S. Standardized Catalogue' that will look nice on their shelf. The 6 x 9 Sigma catalogue is totally unacceptable—it must be 8 x 10 for 1963-65! And any firm that refuses to bow down to this regimentation won't get a contract for 1963, '64 and '65!"

Mr. Broida refused to redesign his catalogue. The GSA refused to give him a contract. If 215 other companies were willing to put out neat and tidy 8 x 10 catalogues, why should Sigma get stubborn? Mr. Broida said it was a matter of principle with him. And there it stands—or there it marches: *Hup,* two, three, four! . . . *Hup,* two, three, four! . . .

HUMAN EVENTS

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Oppenheimer's Record

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Live and learn. Not long ago, I asked two California state legislators which pressure group had the strongest lobby at the capital. Their reply was unhesitating: "The teachers," they chorused.

So I was not altogether unprepared to find, in the list of expense statements for March filed by the 240 lobbyists at Sacramento, that a public relations man for the teachers had won the Abou Ben Adhem honors. He led all the rest with $16,415, about double the amount spent by the power and gas companies.

A tidy sum, but little enough of an expenditure to promote the welfare of a group of dedicated public servants. But while they were at it, I wish the educators had taken just a small amount—say the odd $415—and invested it in a course of remedial reading for some of their more backward members, so gravely in need of phonics.

The cause of this sad reflection is a public letter of reproach from Robert Wildey, a Ph.D. at Caltech, who takes me to task for decrying the bestowal of the Fermi Award on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer: "It should be made clear that Oppenheimer's loyalty was never in doubt."

(But I did not say it was. I compared him to a sentry asleep at a vital post: his loyalty may be unquestioned, but his snoozing I tend to regard as dangerous.)

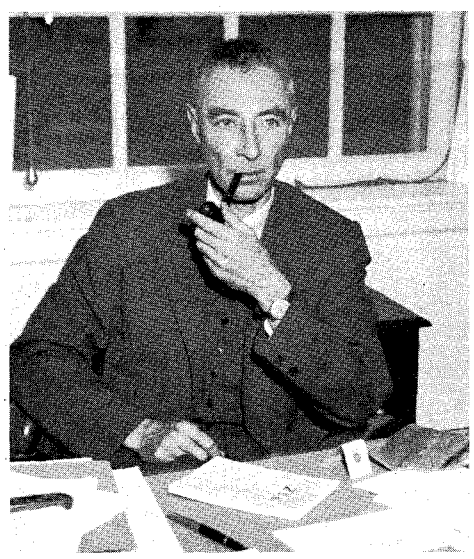
"He was dubbed a security risk," continues the Ph.D., "because he was not afraid to enrich himself with all ideas, regardless of their purveyors or their emotional content, reserving for himself the rationale of their rejection or acceptance."

The only answer to that, I fear, is "Says who?" Certainly it's not what the Atomic Energy Commission's report of nearly 1,000 pages on the Oppenheimer affair says. My notes show the following interesting items gleaned from the 1954 report:

Dr. Oppenheimer was, admittedly, a Communist fellow-traveler from 1937 to 1942. His close friends and associates were Reds, and he belonged to many Communist-front groups. He frequently attended their meetings and contributed up to $1,000 a year for their various causes. Asked whether he knew his money was "going through Communist channels," he replied, "I knew it."

There were so many instances of the above that the AEC found that his activities at least caused the California Communists to regard him as a secret member of the party. And Dr. Oppenheimer conceded that might well have been the case.

Even that, however, is far from conclusive. But add these facts to them:



OPPENHEIMER

Dr. Oppenheimer repeatedly gave false information to General Leslie Groves, head of the Manhattan Project, and to the FBI.

In 1943, he advised a military intelligence officer assigned to the bomb project of an attempt by a Soviet agent to get information about the bomb from him. In 1954, he testified under oath that his 1943 story was "a whole fabrication and a tissue of lies."

I suggest it was on the basis of the above—and many other items as difficult to explain—that the AEC concluded: "We find Dr. Oppenheimer is not entitled to the continued confidence of the government and this commission because of the proof of fundamental defects in his character."

And I find it hard to believe that Dr. Wildey, had he been sitting in on the findings, could have come to any other conclusion. Still, you never can tell about a Ph.D.

What I resent about the current AEC award to Oppenheimer is that—and don't tell me it wasn't planned that way—in effect, it makes the security risk a Dreyfus and the 1954 board bearers of false witness against an innocent man. That is the evil—and evil it is to smear the men who loved their country well enough to protect it against a liar and a fool.

No one questions Dr. Oppenheimer's vast knowledge in the field of atomic energy. Perhaps, as Dr. Wildey goes on to imply, he is a far greater scientist than Edward Teller, who won the Fermi Award last year.

But the sad fact is that a man may be a genius in his own field, and an utter idiot and blabbermouth outside it. I want a Teller and not an Oppenheimer to stand sentry when the Hun is at the gate. And that's where the Hun is, Dr. Wildey, whether the news has reached Caltech or not.

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Observing Tax Freedom Day

Mercer Conservatives of Trenton, N. J. recently carried out OPERATION SHIRTSLEEVE in observance of Tax Freedom Day, April 22. Each member of the club sent their congressman (Frank Thompson) a letter stating that too much of their money had already gone to Washington, D. C., and mailed the congressman a shirt, indicating the federal government might as well have the shirt off their backs. Congressman Thompson recently released a statement that the New Frontier was not liberal enough to suit him.

N. J. CONSERVATIVES' "OPERATION SHIRT-SLEEVE"

Howard Frank is chairman of the Mercer County group, C. H. Fields is vice-chairman, Ed Ahrens is secretary.

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Who Guards the Guardian ?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Mr. Kennedy's growing resentment against the steel companies which have been raising their prices evokes a variant of the old question: "Who takes care of the caretaker's daughter while the caretaker's taking care?"

It is an undisputed fact that the price of no steel product has risen since 1958. In that time labor costs have gone up 20 per cent. The earnings of the companies have dropped and dividends have been reduced.

When the companies tried a year ago to increase prices, Mr. Kennedy mustered all the power of the government to slap them down. His reaction to the present increases suggests he may repeat the act.

The President's rationalization is that the Nation must have price stability. Now, it is apparent that steel is but one element in the national structure of costs. A much more important one is the cost of government. Mr. Kennedy presides over the government, and it is pertinent to ask how he has done in "holding the line."

When Mr. Kennedy was inaugurated, he inherited a federal budget from President Eisenhower which called for spending of $80.9 billion. Mr. Kennedy promptly raised expenditures to $87.8 billion, almost $7 billion in a single year. His next budget pushed spending to $94.3 billion. In the coming fiscal year, starting July 1, he proposes to spend $98.8 billion.

In other words, Mr. Kennedy has been continually increasing the price of government. Why is it to be said that a rise in steel prices might be inflationary or have some other bad effect when Mr. Kennedy thinks that a much greater increase in the cost of government is not inflationary at all? It simply makes no sense.

Nor do many of the activities of government make any more sense. The agricultural price support program, for example, is an obvious attempt to inflate the price of foods and thus gouge the consumer. If Mr. Kennedy thinks it is so imperative to "hold the line," the system of supports and subsidies should be abandoned at once.

The President somehow assumes that it is in his power—although he has no visible authority—to regulate the prices of various steel products. But at the same time he makes no attempt to regulate the costs of the vastly greater enterprise over which he presides.

Mr. Kennedy is so busy taking care of other people's business that he has no time to take care of the operation for which he is responsible. And the consumer—if such the taxpayer is to be called—always gets it in the pocketbook.

CONFUSION—President Kennedy's Youth Conservation Corps bill, which is supposed to take 100,000 boys off the streets for work in the country, comes at a time when several thousand farm youths are looking for better paid work in the cities.

RED SUCCESS—"Communism doesn't flourish in empty stomachs. It flourishes on half-filled minds."—Senator Barry M. Goldwater (R.-Ariz.)

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• *The Business Committee for Tax Reduction in 1963, formed by a group of businessmen recently in a swank Washington club, is regarded as an Administration-inspired pressure group to propagandize for tax reduction right away, without waiting for corresponding cuts in spending. Dope is that Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara (former president of Ford Motor Company) persuaded Henry Ford to round up as many tycoons as possible to help out JFK, who seems unable to persuade Congress. It is noticeable that many trade and business organizations remain unimpressed and chilly towards the new group.*

• JFK's popularity slide derives so far from two big failures: Cuba and ballooning (instead of shrinking) spending, with no tax reduction. Now looms a third flaw which may prove fatal: probable mishandling of labor strikes. A railroad union-management crisis is on the way, with JFK timorous of offending rail brotherhoods. Coming up will be steelworkers' demands for more money, with a strike possible. With the public fast growing impatient with labor's exactions, odds are the famous "profile in courage" will flunk the test.

KENNEDY

• *Although discretion muffles public comments of GOP pros in the capital on Rockefeller's expected remarriage, virtually all privately agree such an event would prove a big handicap to his nomination and election. Some bluntly write him off as a candidate. Carl Shipley, GOP national committeeman from the District of Columbia, a long-time booster of Rockefeller, said last week that Rocky's remarriage would be "political suicide."*

• Kennedy's apparent "go ahead" to the steelmakers on prices has enraged Senator Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.) and has cut the ground from under his demagogic anti-trust subcommittee circuses. Whatever else has become certain after the recent upping of steel prices, it is plain as a pikestaff that the steel industry is engaged in very intense competition instead of in a conspiracy to raise prices (as alleged by the "Keef").

KEFAUVER

• *The Council of State Chambers of Commerce reports that the government's cost of maintaining a youth conservation corpsman is twice that of sending him to a high-priced college, three times that of sending him to a state university and five times the cost of sending him to a good vocational school.*

• An additional big blow struck against JFK's much vaunted "Medicare" program recently: Senator George A. Smathers—Democrat from the senior-citizen state of Florida—has again voiced his opposition to the potential boondoggle. Smathers, once a bosom buddy of JFK, is now chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, which churned out Medicare propaganda. Smathers is now changing the committee's operations.

SMATHERS

• *A congressional supporter of Goldwater is being boomed for president of the National Young Republican organization; support comes from some high in the YR's hierarchy. He is 32-year-old Rep. William E. Brock III from the 3rd District (Chattanooga) of Tennesee, a surprise victor over a Kennedy-backed liberal Democrat in last November's election. He has been a long-time member of the YRs and was mentioned for YR president before he was elected to Congress. Election takes place in June.*

This Week in Washington

Growing Goldwater Boom

The movement to make the Arizonan the GOP presidential nominee is no longer a "phenomenon" to be examined curiously but reluctantly by the liberal press corps of the capital. The movement has become a "fact," but when it will enter the field of open battle with Rockefeller remains to be seen.

Anyway, liberals are already seeking to convert the "fact" into a divisive situation between the two big contestants. One obvious effort to do so only lubricated the wheels of the bandwagon. Last week, the liberal Washington *Post* got an interview with the senator and drew this statement from him about the draft-Goldwater organization: "I have given up trying to stop it. It's like trying to stamp out a forest fire with your feet."

The wide publicity given to this statement only served to reinforce the draft-Goldwater people in the belief their candidate will run; it opened the door wider to a draft. Some pros soberly classified it as a reliable signal Goldwater will run.

But what evidence is there the senator can best the governor for the nomination? It is true that the Gallup poll—not exactly a partisan of Goldwater—last week claimed the Arizonan is gaining on Rockefeller. But, actually, no reliable polls—such as those based on delegates to the 1960 GOP National Convention—reveal the current preferences of Republican pros. The last such poll, taken last fall by the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic,* showed Goldwater with a slim lead over Rockefeller. The situation admittedly is better for the Arizonan today and many pros believe his lead has widened.

The reliable Scripps-Howard Alliance reported April 27 that "his stock has gone up sharply among Republican party pros in the last few weeks. AND BIG CONTRIBUTORS ARE IN HIS CORNER."

One point, little made, comes from professional lips: Like Taft, Goldwater has strong support in the Midwest. But Taft weakened in his race for the '52 nomination in the South, where he thought he had a decisive lead. Today, Goldwater is much stronger "in depth" in the South; Taft had many Southern pros, but little popular backing. Goldwater has both, and the Dixie folk are enthusiastic for him. Rocky has neither, in fact, meets only antagonism from Southerners.

Additionally, Capitol pros believe Goldwater has more support in Eastern industrial areas than is suspected. Evidence to support this view comes from some surprising backing for the Arizonan shown in a poll conducted in New York City by reputable radio station WHN (see story below).

Radio Poll for Barry

New York City radio station WHN (an affiliate of the Mutual Broadcasting System) recently asked its listeners their choice for President in 1964.

Polled four days in succession in hourly news broadcasts from 6 to 9 a.m. (considered good hours for attracting large audiences), the listeners, in their telephoned responses, overwhelmingly supported Goldwater. The other suggested GOP presidential nominees were New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Michigan Governor George Romney. Moreover, on the fourth and final polling day listeners were asked if they would prefer JFK or Barry as President. The surprising answer: 61 per cent of the replies favored Goldwater.

The station's news director, Michael Prelee, told *Human Events* that, although the poll was not too "extensive," the sampling definitely showed a large amount of enthusiasm "generated on Goldwater's behalf." He also stressed that the questions were not given out in advance, thus preventing any concerted telephone campaign on behalf of one candidate or the other.

Here are the full results of the poll. Only percentages are given; the station would not release precise figures.

On Monday, April 15, listeners were asked: "Would you vote for Rockefeller for President?" Eighty-five per cent of the telephone replies said no; 15 per cent, yes.

On Tuesday, listeners were asked if they would vote for Romney for President. Fifty-three per cent replied yes; 47 per cent said no.

On Wednesday, the station asked about Goldwater. Eighty-nine per cent of the replies favored Goldwater; only 11 per cent were against him.

On the final day, Thursday, listeners were asked if they would back Kennedy or Goldwater for President. Sixty-one per cent chose Goldwater; only 39 per cent selected Kennedy.

New Co-Existence Ploy

Khrushchev is readying a "new version" of Marxism-Leninism aimed at softening traditional Western opposition to co-existence with Soviet Russia; he will unveil it at the plenary meeting of the Presidium later this month. A copy of Khrushchev's draft of this "new version," it is reported in East European capitals, has been given to the American ambassador in Moscow, who has presumably sent it to President Kennedy.

Giving Up Guantanamo?

Senator Goldwater has called upon President Kennedy not to abandon Guantanamo naval base in Cuba in exchange for the removal of Russian troops. Goldwater has received authoritative information that President Kennedy is considering such a scheme at the present time.

The senator's warning to the President comes on the heels of a story in the Knight newspaper chain that the United States is negotiating a contract for a naval station with Great Britain on Andros Island near Nassau. This report states that such a base may be used if "U.S. forces ever abandon Guantanamo." Other eye-popping accounts have appeared in the press indicating JFK may abandon this vital military base, the American rights to which were established by a 1934 U.S.-Cuba treaty.

According to the *Saturday Evening Post,* U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson wanted a "Munich" during last fall's Cuban crisis. What has made the hackles rise on many a lawmaker's back is that this "Munich" seems to be unfolding bit by bit.

The *Post* article, written by Stewart Alsop, said Adlai was willing to negotiate with the Russians over their demands that the United States abandon its missile bases in England, Italy and Turkey. These bases are now being abandoned. Stevenson, said Alsop, was also "willing to discuss Guantanamo."

Italian Upset Election

The Italian Free Enterprise party scored outstandingly in the surprising elections last week—and Kennedy's New Frontier fell on its face. Such are the conclusions drawn in Washington.

What it proved, among other things, was the positive genius of JFK's international envoy, Assistant Secretary of State Averell Harriman, at creating disaster wherever his boss sends him. The debacle in Laos today has been peculiarly "trouble shooter" Harriman's own work—with, however, a powerful assist from one of his underlings, the controversial Professor Walt W. Rostow. Undeterred, Kennedy sent the former railroad tycoon (his career in that industry was also far from brilliant) to Moscow to "mellow" Khrushchev—just at the time the Italian voters were going to the polls.

Although few voters probably knew it, many of them cast their ballots against Averell. As *Human Events* in 1961 and 1962 early reported, Harriman's visits to Rome and intrigues there did much to cause the decision of Amintore Fanfani, head of centrist Christian Democrats (Italy's largest party)

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to adopt an "opening to the Left"—to play ball with the Socialists and their "neutralist" foreign policy.

Human Events early quoted Italian papers to indicate that Harriman's pressure on Fanfani led him to this "soft on communism" course. Harriman apparently thought that this ploy would weaken the Italian Communist party by luring the fellow-traveling Socialists into a combination with the Center—Fanfani's Christian Democrats.

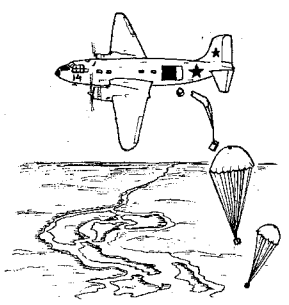
Instead, in last week's election, the Socialists remained about the same, while the Communists made a record gain. The Christian Democrats dropped off about 4 per cent from their previous election plurality. It was the Liberal party (despite its name, the Italian "Free Enterprise" party) which made the most sensational gain—doubling its popular vote. Interesting, also, was the fact that the Liberals made their best showing in the industrial, working-class Milan area.

Commentators may argue about the various aspects of this election, but there is general agreement about one conclusion: It amply confirmed the fact that Harriman, JFK's pet international fixer, has a positive flair for failure.

Laos

The "soft-on-Khrushchev" crowd in the New Frontier is struggling hard to get Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev off the hook for the new wave of Communist Pathet Lao aggressions in the tiny, but strategic kingdom of Laos. This left-wing, ADA bunch desperately needs to keep alive the image of Khrushchev as "mellowing" to condition the grass roots into more readily accepting JFK concessions to the Soviets.

The No. 1 Khrushchev apologist is W. Averell Harriman—the diplomatic wizard who worked out the Geneva accords now blowing up in his face. Harriman did his best to breathe new life into the "mellowing" myth last week after he had faced Khrushchev. At a Moscow press conference, Harriman proclaimed he felt Khrushchev wanted to keep the peace in Laos.



The managed news boys in the State Department and the White House have also continued to polish the Harriman image of Khrushchev, claiming that the real blame for these new, bold, brutal aggressions lies with the Red Chinese whom Khrushchev can't control. The Chinese—not the Russians—sparked the Pathet Lao into action, they claim.

This pabulum fed to the American public is not swallowed by those who should know the real score: the Laotian and South Vietnamese diplomats here in Washington. In contact with *Human Events*, these Asian experts insist the Soviets, led by Khrushchev, have, since December 1960, continued to supply the Communist Pathet Lao with arms and ammunition from Soviet-manned arm depots in neighboring North Viet Nam.

They affirm, along with an April 24 shortwave radiocast over the British Broadcasting Company, that the Soviets shut off supplies to the neutralist leader, Kong Le, prior to the Communist Pathet Lao's attacks on the neutralists, the Communists' former allies. *But the Soviets have never shut off the supplies to the Pathet Lao.* If Khrushchev really intended to keep the peace, these experts say, he would have stopped supplying the Pathet Lao Communists with ammunition—just as the United States withdrew arms aid from the right-wing faction in Laos last year to prove America's peaceful intentions.

Liberal "Academic Freedom"

The liberal community, usually strident in defending academic freedom, has been conspicuously silent over economics professor Dr. Harold Hughes' dismissal from his teaching job at West Virginia Wesleyan. In a talk with Human Events, *Wesleyan president Dr. Stanley H. Martin admits that Hughes is being kicked out because his views are "one-sided,"—i.e., conservative. Martin denies, however, that Hughes' removal had anything to do with demands by the head of West Virginia's labor federation that he be fired.*

The Wheat Referendum

Deep growls of protest are heard in Congress over the open propagandizing (masked as "explaining") by the Agriculture Department in favor of Orville Freeman's proposal to clamp tight new federal controls on wheat—the "wheat referendum" to be voted upon by farmers May 21.

This propaganda drive directed by collectivist Secretary Freeman has enlisted some 27,000 full and part-time government employes, has produced lavish booklets and pamphlets, massive TV and radio broadcasts—all paid for by the taxpayer. Last week, Rep. James F. Battin (R.-Mont.) demanded that Secretary Freeman be fired for being less than candid with Congress regarding these activities.

Battin charged one particularly shocking example of paid, full-time employes of the Department using heavy-handed tactics to secure a "yes" vote occurred just nine days prior to Freeman's assuring members of the House Agriculture Committee that he had "expressly" told the Department "it is not our function to tell any farmer how to vote . . . "

Despite these firm assurances, said Battin, four Montana farmers have charged, in writing, that a department fieldman on April 16, 1963, told them personally that the department wanted a "yes" vote on the referendum. This, according to Battin, is strictly against the law. The farmers are chief officers of the McCone County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee, which helps administer the laws pertaining to agriculture. Members of these ASC committees are paid by the Department of Agriculture.

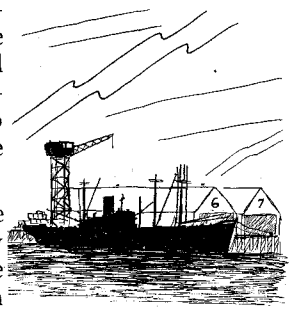
Since members of these committees can be dismissed through indirect pressure from the Secretary of Agriculture, many have obsequiously bowed to Secretary Freeman's demands. But these four did not.

Moreover, they charged that the department fieldman claimed a "fund slightly in excess of $900 had been made available" by the department and "was earmarked for use in McCone County to promote a 'Yes' vote." The farmers also asserted that "the county committee was to select and contact four local farmers who favor a 'yes' vote to serve as promotional men between now and the referendum day"; and that a committee "poll watcher" at the voting place should "encourage" those who want to vote "yes" to go to the polls during election day.

What has also intrigued farm experts is that these four committee member farmers come from an area representing views of the left-wing Farmer's Union—which has championed Freeman's socialistic agriculture schemes.

Trade Expansion Act

In another flagrant attempt to defy congressional will, the New Frontier is making a concerted effort to scrap high-tariff restrictions on Communist-made goods imported from Poland and Yugoslavia. These restrictions were written into section 231 of the 1962 Trade Expansion Act.



Last week, reported the New York *Times*, Secretary of State Dean Rusk made plans for a meeting with Yugoslavian Red dictator Josip Broz Tito, who is anxious to see section 231 of the act repealed. So, said the *Times*, is John F. Kennedy. The unmistakable implication of the *Times'* story was that Rusk would try to find some way to increase American trade with Yugoslavia, despite this section of the law.

While this section was vigorously opposed by the Administration last year, Ohio Democratic Senator Frank Lausche and House Republicans John W. Byrnes (Wis.) and Steven Derounian (N. Y.) campaigned vigorously to see that it was enacted. It was overwhelmingly approved by Congress.

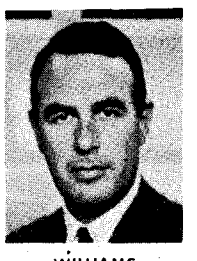
It has been six months since JFK was instructed by Congress to invoke this section (the law allows JFK no discretion), yet he has refused to do so. Moreover, he has sent his secretary of state to Yugoslavia, with strong indications there will be further relaxation of trade with that Communist country.

Rep. Ralph Harvey (R.-Ind.) points out that as a result of JFK's failure to invoke this section of the act as required by Congress, Yugoslavian zinc is pouring into this country under a low tariff and is putting domestic zinc manufacturers "virtually. . . out of business."

NOT MERELY GOSSIP

• *None other than former Vice President Richard Nixon sparked last week's presidential boom for George Romney of Michigan —so runs the verdict of pros on Capitol Hill.*

• Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D.-N. J.), a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and Rep. Carleton R. Sickles (D.-Md.) have pitched in to help big labor meet its No. 1 demand as cited in COPE's "Program of Progress" pamphlet: the repeal of section 14b of Taft-Hartley, otherwise known as the "Right to Work" amendment. Both recently introduced bills to strike the proviso. In private life, Sickles was a union lawyer.



WILLIAMS

• *Auto-bumper stickers, following the traditional American sense of humor, are appearing with the admonition: "Stop Worrying! They're still 90 miles away!" Capital wags say these stickers enjoy great popularity in Richmond, Va., which is about 90 miles south of Washington. Richmond wags say the stickers do not refer to the Russians in Cuba, but to the Kennedys.*

• The "soft on Oppenheimer" (Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer) clique continues to rise in influence in government circles, coinciding with the Atomic Energy Commission's recent award to "Oppie" for science. Dr. Leland Haworth, an AEC member who voted for Oppenheimer's award, has now been selected to head the National Science Foundation, the federal government's primary agency for supporting basic research. Dr. Henry D. Smyth, an AEC commissioner who opposed the removal of Oppenheimer's top security clearance in 1954, is U.S. representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

OPPENHEIMER

• *Sign of the times: Increasingly, Americans and former Castroite Cubans are swinging around to open regrets that the U.S. government failed to back President Batista of Cuba and shore him up (in 1957 to 1959) against the Castro rebellion. This was the course which former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Arthur Gardner strongly recommended to the State Department from Havana, advice which made him the whipping boy of the American press of that time.*

• Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) is being criticized in liberal quarters for refusing to take a seat on the education subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, even though offered to him by subcommittee chairman Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.). According to insiders, Ribicoff, former secretary of health, education and welfare, doesn't want to be caught in a crossfire between Catholics and non-Catholics in Connecticut who differ over whether parochial schools should get federal aid. Ribicoff won by just 26,000 votes in the last election.

RIBICOFF

• *Because of the growing weakness of the "Kennedy Dollar," the U.S. government is resorting to a device often used in the past by bankrupt foreign governments. The United States has quietly issued U.S. government bonds or notes payable in foreign currencies —as the mark, the lira and the Swiss franc. These currencies of West Germany, Italy and Switzerland are "hard," much stronger than the dollar. Foreign investors are worried about the dollar because of Kennedy's economic policies and the continued deficit in our international balance of payments.*

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Big City Democrats Help House Pass Feed-Grain Bill

Fifty-four votes cast by the Big City Betrayal Bloc—Democratic congressmen from the nation's largest cities—provided the 12-vote margin by which the Administration's feed-grain bill passed the House of Representatives, 208 to 196. The bill now goes to the Senate. The Secretary of Agriculture promised higher feed grain prices—meaning higher food prices—if the bill becomes law.

The legislation places unprecedented power over agriculture in the hands of the secretary. In addition to setting price supports, he can specify how much each farmer can produce and he can make direct payments out of the federal treasury to farmers; he can judge their compliance of the rules he lays down and he can assess fines from which there is no appeal. The bill is so complex that no one knows the complete limits of the secretary's authority.

The New Frontier claims the bill—if it becomes law—will reduce surpluses. Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) has estimated that the reduction in feed-grain during the last two years under the same plan cost Uncle Sam between $6 and $8 per bushel.

The encouraging vote came from the congressmen who represent all of the farm areas north of the Mason-Dixon line. Every GOP congressman except one—Alvin O'Konski, who represents Northern Wisconsin—voted against the feed-grain bill. The American Farm Bureau Federation, the nation's largest voluntary farm organization, is vigorously fighting for a return to the free market. Each year sees an increase in the number of farmers who want "freedom to farm." Controls, even when accompanied by promises of higher farm prices, are becoming repulsive to the farming majority. The small number of farmers under left-wing leadership who believe the government owes them a living constitutes the remaining Kennedy support in the farming areas.

Southern Democrats split on the issue. Secretary Orville Freeman, his agents and White House aides have spent many hours with Southern congressmen wooing their votes. They got enough to win. However, 17 Southerners defied Administration pressure and voted against the bill. They were:

Grant (Ala.), Haley, Herlong and Rogers (Fla.), Weltner (Ga.), Waggonner (La.), Williams (Miss.), Dorn (S. C.), Murray (Tenn.), Beckworth, Burleson, Casey, Dowdy, Kilgore, Pool and Teague (Tex.), and Marsh (Va.).

Eleven Northern Democrats voted against the Administration:

Monagan (Conn.), Harding (Idaho), Long (Md.), Baring (Nev.), Pike (N. Y.), Feighan (Ohio), Clark, Dent and Rhodes (Pa.), and Fogarty and St. Germain (R. I.).

Big City Betrayal Bloc

Fifty-four Democratic leaders from the big cities—with few or no farms in their districts—voted for or were paired in favor of the feed-grain bill. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has promised this bill will sharply raise farm prices which, of course, means higher food prices.

The only logical explanation is that these 54—like Harry Hopkins—believe their constituents are "too damned dumb to understand." Therefore, they could safely vote as directed by the Labor Bosses who want socialized agriculture as a prelude to a socialized America. Reuther is the No. 1 example. His political power in Wayne County is shown by the unanimous vote year after year of the Wayne County (Detroit) congressmen in favor of all bills whose purpose is to raise farm prices.

Here are the 54 Northern liberal Democrats—the Big City Betrayal Bloc:

NEW YORK—Addabbo, Buckley, Carey, Delaney, Farbstein, Gilbert, Kelly, Keogh, Multer, Murphy, Powell, Rooney, Rosenthal, Ryan. (Celler and Healey paired for the bill).

CHICAGO—Dawson, Finnegan, Kluczynski, Libonati, Murphy, O'Brien, O'Hara, Pucinski, Rostenkowski.

LOS ANGELES—Brown, Burkhalter, Cameron, Corman, Hawkins, Holifield, King, Roybal, C. Wilson. (Roosevelt paired for the bill.)

PHILADELPHIA—Barrett, Byrne, Green, Nix, Toll.

DETROIT—Diggs, Dingell, Griffiths, Lesinski, Nedzi, Ryan.

BALTIMORE—Fallon, Friedel, Garmatz.

MILWAUKEE—Reuss, Zablocki.

SAN FRANCISCO—(Shelley paired for the bill.)

PITTSBURGH—Holland, Moorhead.

What You Can Do

The feed-grain bill now goes to the Senate Agriculture Committee and then to the Senate.

Write your senators that you want lower costs—lower taxes—and not *more* burdens through farm legislation that will *not* solve the farm problem.

Let your representative know whether you like his vote. If he voted against, commend him. If he voted for, indicate your displeasure. Get your friends to do likewise.

House Roll Call Vote

KEY TO SYMBOLS:

VOTED RIGHT (against the bill—NAY) + VOTED WRONG (for the bill—YEA) —

Republicans in CAPITAL letters. PAIRED RIGHT p+ NOT RECORDED o

Democrats in small letters. PAIRED WRONG p—

Alabama
Andrews —
Elliott o
Grant +
Huddleston —
Jones —
Rains —
Roberts —
Selden —

Alaska
Rivers p—

Arizona
RHODES +
Senner —
Udall —

Arkansas
Gathings —
Harris —
Mills —
Trimble —

California (L. A.)
BELL +
HOSMER +
LIPSCOMB +
SMITH +
Brown —
Burkhalter —
Cameron —
Corman —
Hawkins —
Holifield —
King —
Roosevelt p—
Roybal —
C. Wilson —

California (Rest of State)
BALDWIN +
CLAUSEN +
GUBSER +
MAILLIARD +
MARTIN +
TALCOTT +
TEAGUE +
UTT +
R. WILSON +
YOUNGER +
Cohelan —
Edwards —
Hagen —
Hanna —
Johnson p+
Leggett —
McFall —
Miller —
Moss —
Shelley p—
Sheppard p—
Sisk p—
Van Deerlin —

Colorado
BROTZMAN +
CHENOWETH +
Aspinall —
Rogers —

Connecticut
SIBAL +
Daddario —
Giaimo —
Grabowski —
Monagan +
St. Onge —

Delaware
McDowell —

Florida
CRAMER +
GURNEY +
Bennett —
Fascell p—
Fuqua —
Gibbons —
Haley +
Herlong +
Matthews —
Pepper —
Rogers +
Sikes —

Georgia
Davis —
Flynt o
Forrester o
Hagan —
Landrum —
Pilcher —
Stephens —
Tuten —
Vinson —
Weltner +

Hawaii
Gill —
Matsunaga —

Idaho
Harding +
White —

Illinois (Chicago)
COLLIER +
DERWINSKI +
RUMSFELD +
Dawson —
Finnegan —
Kluczynski —
Libonati —
Murphy —
O'Brien —
O'Hara —
Pucinski —
Rostenkowski —

Illinois (Rest of State)
ANDERSON +
ARENDS +
FINDLEY +
HOFFMAN +
McCLORY +
McLOSKEY +
MICHEL +
REID +
SPRINGER +
Gray —
Price —
Shipley —

Indiana
ADAIR +
BRAY +
BRUCE +
HALLECK +
HARVEY +
ROUDEBUSH +
WILSON +
Brademas —
Denton —
Madden —
Roush —

Iowa
BROMWELL +
GROSS +
HOEVEN +
JENSEN +
KYL +
SCHWENGEL +
Smith —

Kansas
AVERY +
DOLE +
ELLSWORTH +
SHRIVER +
SKUBITZ +

Kentucky
SILER +
SNYDER +
Chelf —
Natcher —
Perkins —
Stubblefield —
Watts —

Louisiana
Boggs —
Hebert p—
Long —
Morrison —
Passman —
Thompson —
Waggonner +
Willis —

Maine
McINTIRE +
TUPPER +

Maryland
MATHIAS +
MORTON +
Fallon —
Friedel —
Garmatz —
Lankford —
Long +
Sickles —

Massachusetts
BATES +
CONTE +
KEITH +
MARTIN +
MORSE +
Boland —
Burke —
Donohue —
McCormack o
Macdonald o
O'Neill —
Philbin —

Michigan (Detroit)
Diggs —
Dingell —
Griffiths —
Lesinski —
Nedzi —
Ryan —

Michigan (Rest of State)
BENNETT +
BROOMFIELD p+
CEDERBERG +
CHAMBERLAIN +
FORD +
GRIFFIN +
HARVEY +
HUTCHINSON +
JOHANSEN +
KNOX +
MEADER +
O'Hara —
Staebler —

Minnesota
LANGEN +
MacGREGOR +
NELSEN +
QUIE +
Blatnik —
Fraser p—
Karth —
Olson —

Mississippi
Abernethy —
Colmer —
Whitten —
Williams +
Winstead —

Missouri
CURTIS p+
HALL +
Bolling —
Cannon —
Hull —
Ichord —
Jones —
Karsten —
Randall —
Sullivan —

Montana
BATTIN +
Olsen —

Nebraska
BEERMANN +
CUNNINGHAM +
MARTIN +

Nevada
Baring +

New Hampshire
CLEVELAND +
WYMAN +

New Jersey
AUCHINCLOSS p+
CAHILL +
DWYER +
FRELINGHUYSEN +
GLENN p+
OSMERS +
WALLHAUSER +
WIDNALL p+
Daniels —
Gallagher —
Joelson —
Minish —
Patten —
Rodino —
Thompson —

New Mexico
Montoya —
Morris —

New York (N.Y.C.)
FINO +
HALPERN +
LINDSAY +
Addabbo —
Buckley —
Carey —
Celler p—
Delaney —
Farbstein —
Gilbert —
Healey p—
Kelly —
Keogh —
Multer —
Murphy —
Powell —
Rooney —
Rosenthal —
Ryan —

New York (Rest of State)
BARRY +
BECKER +
DEROUNIAN +
GOODELL +
GROVER +
HORTON +
KILBURN +
KING +
MILLER +
OSTERTAG +
PILLION +
PIRNIE +
REID +
RIEHLMAN +
ROBISON +
ST. GEORGE +
WHARTON +
WYDLER +
Dulski —
O'Brien —
Pike +
Stratton —

North Carolina
BROYHILL +
JONAS +
Bonner —
Cooley —
Fountain —
Henderson —
Kornegay —
Lennon o
Scott —
Taylor —
Whitener —

North Dakota
NYGAARD +
SHORT +

Ohio
ABELE +
ASHBROOK +
AYRES p+
BETTS p+
F. BOLTON +
O. BOLTON +
BOW +
BROWN +
CLANCY +
DEVINE +
HARSHA +
LATTA +
McCULLOCH +
MINSHALL +
MOSHER +
RICH o
SCHENCK +
TAFT +
Ashley o
Feighan +
Hays o
Kirwan —
Secrest —
Vanik —

Oklahoma
BELCHER +
Albert —
Edmondson —
Jarman —
Steed —
Wickersham —

Oregon
NORBLAD +
Duncan —
Green —
Ullman —

Pennsylvania (Phila.)
Barrett —
Byrne —
Green —
Nix —
Toll —

Pennsylvania (Pitts.)
CORBETT +
FULTON +
Holland —
Moorhead —

Pennsylvania (Rest of State)
CURTIN +
DAGUE +
GAVIN +
GOODLING +
KUNKEL +
McDADE +
MILLIKEN +
SAYLOR +
SCHNEEBELI +
SCHWEIKER +
WEAVER p+
WHALLEY +
Clark +
Dent +
Flood —
Morgan —
Rhodes +
Walter p—

Rhode Island
Fogarty +
St. Germain +

South Carolina
Ashmore —
Dorn +
Hemphill —
McMillan —
Rivers —
Watson —

South Dakota
BERRY +
REIFEL +

Tennessee
BAKER +
BROCK +
QUILLEN +
Bass —
Davis —
Everett —
Evins —
Fulton —
Murray +

Texas
ALGER +
FOREMAN +
Beckworth +
Brooks —
Burleson +
Casey +
Dowdy +
Fisher p+
Gonzalez —
Kilgore +
Mahon —
Patman —
Poage —
Pool +
Purcell —
Roberts —
Rogers —
Teague +
Thomas —
Thompson —
Thornberry —
Wright —
Young —

Utah
BURTON +
LLOYD +

Vermont
STAFFORD +

Virginia
BROYHILL +
POFF +
Abbitt —
Downing —
Gary —
Hardy —
Jennings —
Marsh +
Smith —
Tuck —

Washington
HORAN +
MAY +
TELLY +
STINSON +
TOLLEFSON +
WESTLAND +
Hansen —

West Virginia
MOORE +
Hechler —
Kee —
Slack —
Staggers p+

Wisconsin
BYRNES +
LAIRD +
O'KONSKI —
SCHADEBERG +
THOMSON +
VAN PELT +
Johnson —
Kastenmeier —
Reuss —
Zablocki —

Wyoming
HARRISON +

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MAO TSE-TUNG. . . Hides behind ideological cloak

THE KREMLIN'S SQUEEZE ON MAO

By RODNEY GILBERT

(Reprints of this article are available. See page 95.)

For nearly five years Comrade Nikita Khrushchev and his associates in the Kremlin have been jerking one prop after another from under Mao Tse-tung's throne. The obvious purpose of this program is to bring about the collapse of the Mao regime in Peiping so the masters of the Red Empire can set up in its place a puppet regime less willful, more competent, less destructive of China's limited resources and less disposed to arouse hatred of communism among the Chinese masses. It is, in short, the Kremlin's reaction to the asininities of Red China's "great leap forward."

As his throne wobbles more precariously by the hour, an infuriated and frightened Mao is very far indeed from recognizing and publicly defending his record as a blundering Red satrap. He has, instead, invented as an explanation of the present ill will between Moscow and Peiping an "ideological" rift which his publicists have contrived to have quoted worldwide in the press of both Right and Left.

To denounce this as the feverish twaddle of a frightened man, without explaining what Mao is saying, would be unfair. He says that he agrees with Lenin that there must be total, all-out war between the champions of Marxism and the imperialistic capitalists—or whatever one cares to call us. In saying he is for that, Mao suggests that Nikita is shirking his obligations to the Marxist cause and is rough on Red China because Mao reminds him of that obligation. This, Mao seems to hope, will explain to fellow Marxists everywhere why the resentful Kremlin is dealing so cruelly with Red China.

The Kremlin rarely deigns to reply to this line except through Nikita's revelations that he is satisfied with the progress made through his Cold War operations and his support of "wars of liberation" without madly invoking nuclear war. Khrushchev's only recent direct retort to Mao's bluster was a typical taunt. He asked why, if Mao and gang wanted real war so badly, they did not undertake the recovery of Hong Kong and Kowloon from the British and Macao from the Portuguese—plus the recovery of Formosa, of course, through all-out war?

But now the reader may want to know what Soviet Russia has been doing to Red China which has scared Mao and his regime's blatherskites to smoke-screen the situation with so much yelping about ideologies.

In the middle of 1958, Khrushchev was first told of the high-speed development by Mao of the commune system. He denounced it offhand as a foolish imitation of a Soviet experiment that had been a dismal flop. He had reference, of course, to the *agrogorod* (farm town) system which he had suggested to Stalin, and of which great, disillusioning flop Stalin had put him in charge.

Not many months later (after his visit to this country), Nikita turned up on Oct.1, 1958, as the most distinguished guest at Red China's annual founders' day blow-out. Many of the accounts of that affair that went abroad made much of the chilly atmosphere that prevailed at meetings between Mao and Nikita—the most conspicuous being at their parting at the airport. Never since then, be it noted, has any big shot from Moscow honored Red China's annual celebration with his presence.

The withdrawal of the small army of Russian technical experts, mechanics and what not from Red China's industries and other construction work began shortly after that. First noted as a trickle by a Yugoslav correspondent, and explained by Peiping as a replacement operation, the withdrawal soon was being described by refugees and foreign observers as a mass exodus. There are reasons now for believing that it was total.

At a great banquet held in Peiping on Sept. 30, 1962, the eve of the annual celebration of the founding of the Red Chinese regime, Chou En-lai made a remarkable confession of defeat that was published internationally. He said to a gathering of dignitaries from all quarters of the Communist world (except Soviet Russia) and all local persons of any account (except Mao Tse-tung) that Communist China's industry was in a state of total collapse, that the country's only reliance thenceforth would have to be upon agriculture. Considering that Red China's farm output had then been for three or four years well below decent human subsistence levels, this sounded like a cry of despair.

The purpose of this amazing confession had all observers throughout the Far East mystified. They still are. To some it sounded like a denunciation of Mao's "great leap forward." To others it was a denunciation of Soviet Russia's policy of choking the Mao regime to death. We now have some reason to think that the latter was Chou En-lai's purpose.

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
Seeks a more pliant puppet

It is likely enough that the wholesale withdrawal of Soviet technical personnel from industries and construction jobs had much to do with the "collapse" to which Chou confessed. But, according to a bitter article in Peiping's *People's Daily* of a few weeks ago, the Soviet Union has been wrecking China's economy for several years past through "the unilateral cancellation of contracts." These cancellations, the voice of Red China shrilled, have not been by the dozens, or scores, but by the hundreds. Such contracts provided for the supply by Soviet Russia of materials essential to the industries and construction work, on credit. With expert Soviet personnel and essential supplies withdrawn, what could China's industries have done, lacking the support that surplus farm production might have given them, but collapse?

But that isn't the whole of what the Kremlin has been doing to choke the Mao Tse-tung regime to death. During the past year, Moscow has taken the astonishing step of closing all Soviet consulates in Red China's once big and flourishing ports, trading centers and industrial cities. Why? the press wants to know. "Because," says Moscow blandly, "there are no longer any Soviet citizens in those places."

This is a staggering piece of information. Consulates are not established abroad to look after the petty concerns of individuals only, but to care for the commercial interests of a nation's shipping and trading enterprises. Therefore, Moscow is saying that it has no commercial relations whatever with Red China.

This allegation, that there are no Soviet citizens left in China's great industrial centers, also confirms the report that the recall of technical help from Chinese industries has been total.

But that is not quite the end, for has not Moscow let it be known that such aid as it had been giving to Red China's developing of an atomic energy program, with nuclear weapons in the offing, had been stopped short?

Now is it any wonder that Mao squeals feverishly to the orthodox Marxist world that Khrushchev and gang hate him because of his orthodoxy, implying that his differences with the Kremlin have nothing to do with the unholy mess that he has made of China, but arise solely from his fidelity to Leninist Marxism? His blather of his ideology will get him nowhere beyond little outcast Albania. So much for this clash of ideology, which is about as important in this conflict as it would be between a couple of he-goats in a butting contest.

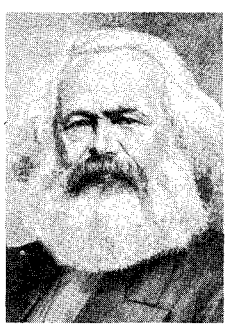
Why doesn't Moscow end its program of wrecking Mao's China, before it is a worse mess than Mao has made of it, by a swift military stroke—and the exile of Mao to one of Siberia's outermost labor camps? Or, alternately, why doesn't the Kremlin finance an anti-Mao "reform" movement, starting in Manchuria, perhaps, into which a variety of well-known anti-Mao elements in the Red Chinese armed forces could be recruited?

Maybe that is coming. Many expect it to come tomorrow or the next day. But many think not. They think the Kremlin is too fearful of giving Mao a new chance to invoke Chinese nationalism against the imposition on the country of an alien despotism.

As to what is coming next, one must understand what is at stake. It is, first of all, the Kremlin's authority to dictate how the Red Empire's great Chinese satrapy is to be run, and by whom. It is, secondly, to determine whether or not Mao Tse-tung can retain his control over Red China despite Moscow's tremendous efforts to shake him down.

As for his orthodox Marxist appeal against Nikita's alleged backwardness in waging the great war of world conquest, the anti-Soviet Marxists say "Poof!" It is addressed by a fellow who knows no more about Marxism than he learned from a few books that he found in the Peking University library when he was a janitor there. It is addressed to a gentry throughout the Red Empire who care no more for Marx or Lenin than Stalin did, but who enjoy despotic power, here and there, because of their fidelity to the great gangster despotism which Nikita heads up in the Kremlin.

So what will the Kremlin do next to bring about the collapse of the regime of the arrogant, noisy Mao Tse-tung?



MARX

STALIN

The top man among Taiwan's experts on this situation is President Chiang Kai-shek, who says that Mao will surrender and that Moscow will then establish an even tougher system of control over the Chinese people than Mao's. That, being alien, would make intervention from Taiwan all the more welcome to the Chinese people. Maybe so, but here is a guesswork problem for which the reader of the foregoing is as well equipped as the alleged experts to have an opinion—so long as he is not befuddled by Mao's ideological clap-trap.

Mr. Gilbert spent 20 of his 50 working years as a newspaperman in the Far East. An editorial writer for the New York *Herald Tribune* during the New Deal, Mr. Gilbert has also contributed more than 50 editorials over the years to *The Saturday Evening Post*.

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FROM OUR READERS

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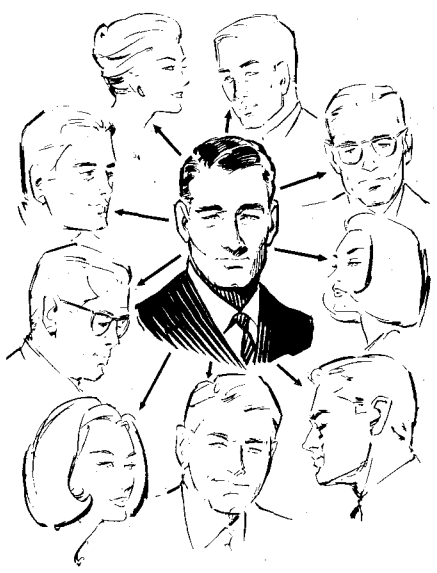

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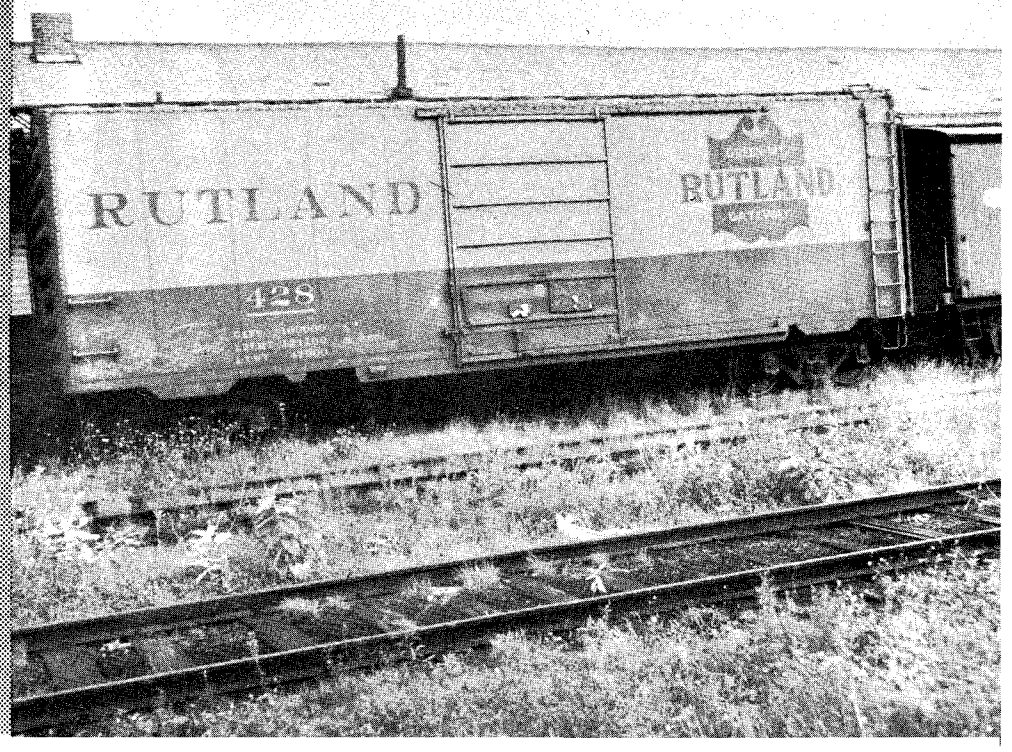
UNION DEMANDS KILL RAILROAD

By VREST ORTON



(Reprints of this article are available. See page 95.)

Death *on* the road is, as it should be, a mote in the public eye. I wish death *of* the road (I am talking about the railroad) could get a little more attention. That great master of the English language, E. B. White, has said a sad and nostalgic farewell to the railroad in such a superb fashion that no one can add a thing to that part of the subject. I want to talk about the ill logic of it all.

I use this term on purpose because a railroad recently died in Vermont from a disease carried by labor leaders: sick logic. It soon became endemic.

We Vermonters aren't used to labor leaders; never had any around until recent years so we haven't built up much of a history of their ways. But we do have their results, meager as they are. At this writing they have succeeded in killing off—or forcing out—only a very few businesses and only one railroad.

We do not understand them largely because of their logic. To us simple Vermonters, leaders should lead people to something, not away from it. We think of military leaders leading men to fight; farm leaders leading men to farm. So it's hard to think of labor leaders leading men *away* from labor.

A little over ten years ago we had a railroad in Vermont that could take you and your family north, south, east or west. But, because of the rise of trucking and the growing power of the Teamsters Union, the freight business had been for some time decreasing and, as a result, this road was losing thousands of dollars a month and is, at this time, in the hands of a receiver.

This was the proper moment, of course, for the passenger train men to strike. The union demanded more money and more firemen not to shovel coal. Management replied that this was manifestly impossible because, running in the red, they didn't have any money and therefore couldn't give out any. Labor, with its new logic, replied that they didn't care whether the railroad had any money or not, they wanted it.

Passengers Dropped

Because there wasn't any more, the strikers never got their jobs back. Adhering to the old-fashioned (now outmoded) logic that the passenger trains can't run without passenger train men to run them, management was forced to drop the passenger service, and not a soul has ridden this road since.

The unions, of course, declared that management had ruined the railroad by giving up the passenger service. Management, they explained, had adopted the typical public-be-damned attitude and deliberately deprived the public of transportation and the workers of jobs.

Some of the strikers then applied to the Vermont Unemployment Commission for weekly unemployment benefits, swearing under oath that they were now unemployed through no fault of their own. It seems that the Vermont Unemployment Commission had also come down with some of the same logic.

Repeat of History

In 1960, ten years later, this same railroad—now left with only the freight business—got new, aggressive management which, for the first time in many years, was beginning to lift the road out of the red—some months breaking even. When this happened, the union leaders issued a new ultimatum. Unless management forthwith gave the workers more of many things, they would order a strike. Management replied, "Look, we are just starting to break even. Why can't you wait until we begin to make a little money? The job now is to keep the railroad running—in the black."

The hungry labor leaders replied—just as ten years before—that it was not their business to keep the road running. All they wanted was to get the road to meet union demands.

So they ordered the strike. History repeated itself. All the men working on the railroad walked out.

Today, at this writing, they are still out. The management can no longer run any railroad. The one step left for management was to salvage what it could. This was a logical (old-fashioned) step. The managers petition was granted.

This was precisely the moment, of course, for the labor leaders, whose ill-timed and illogical strike had gone sour, to announce that selfish management had, by intent, ruined the railroad and schemed to abandon it for the express purpose of keeping the workers from having a place to work.

This crucial stage in railroad affairs was hardly the propitious moment for an outsider to offer a solution, but, taking my cue from the others, I seized upon the opportunity to announce that the leaders of the unions were at fault; they had not been asking *enough* for their men! Over and above demanding funds that weren't there, they should at once, I recommended, demand that the railroad be put back into operation by hiring more coal-shoveling firemen to ride each Diesel cab and not shovel coal. And to draw pay at the end of a long grueling day.

Pursuing labor's ill logic to a normal logical end, there was no earthly reason why the unions should not go back to 1870 for parity. If they did, they could demand for each Diesel engine not one, but six firemen. One to chop down trees for wood to feed the engine that didn't burn wood; a second to saw this wood into proper lengths, and the third to cart it to and load it upon the wood-carrying cab behind the wood burning engine that didn't exist.

The fourth fireman would stand on top of the non-wood, piled high in the non-cab, and hand sticks, as needed, to the fifth fireman who would shove the stuff (we trust lengthwise) into the red hot firebox that no longer burned. The sixth (and this was a stroke of genius on my part, if I do say so) would be ready to grab the rope, pull the jointed water pipe down from the water tower no longer standing, and let the mythical water run pell mell into the boiler which no longer boiled. This would make the phantom steam put the non-pistons, which no longer used steam, to work.

This carefully reasoned (by old-time logic) solution was not accepted by either labor or its leaders. Epithets were hurled at me. I was called many things—but most of all, a labor hater—when actually I was trying to help them. One labor official wrote explaining in some detail why it was impossible to find six men to do those jobs any more.

End of the Line

So the end result of all this left me in the labor doghouse, and the railroad dead without even a burial place. They will soon be tearing up the steel rails, the right of way soon to be covered by asters, daisies and dandelion greens.

I was, I mistrust, being unfair to unions. I later realized that with one engineer and six firemen in each Diesel cab it would be crowded. Management could, I ventured, handle this problem by coupling on a passenger coach. Silence met this suggestion.

As I write this from my hideaway in Florida, the railroad workers' jobs are certainly lost unless the man they (and COPE) elected governor of Vermont succeeds in forcing the state legislature into taking over the railroad. By the same ill logic that says private enterprise can't do anything as well as the state, the state should be able to run the road with much success. Many comments have been flung around on this subject, but they all boil down to this: It's not important if the state does lose money; it's not our money, it's theirs!

At this final point, no one, least of all me, should have said any more. But, being a stubborn Vermonter and a damned fool user of that silly outmoded logic, I would naturally pick the most improper time to point out that, according to the new logic of the day, anything can be run successfully if you pay out more money than you take in.

A Simple Solution

Consequently, by all means let the unions buy the railroad and run it themselves!

A neat solution, if I do say so, because under it everyone would be happy. Management would learn something new about how to manage. Business would be able to ship stuff at practically no cost. And labor—why there would be no reason wages should not be automatically raised quarterly. All benefits could be increased and the workers given longer vacations and more time off to eat, to go to the toilet, to get off the trains and pick pussy willows or, as the spirit moved them, to sit in the cabs and do scrimshaw.

Now that the unions owned the railroad they could pay 150 per cent of the gross income in wages to the men who did the work—the owners. Of course the six firemen per cab could not expect quite as much; they would only get a paltry 100 per cent.

What difference would it make anyhow if the road did get in the red? They would only be owing it to themselves!

Latest Development

Railroad unions filed suit in federal court last week to enjoin the Rutland Railroad Corp. from abandoning its 331-mile line in Vermont and Northern New York.

Attorney for the Railway Labor Executive Association, representing 21 unions, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers argued that communities along Rutland lines needed its services and the 321 employes would be out of work if the company abandoned operations.

Rutland Railroad based its case for abandonment on the heavy financial losses during 1960 and 1961 mentioned in this article. These losses resulted largely from having to meet excessive union demands.

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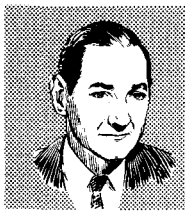

JFK: Castro, Si—Exiles, No

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The greatest crime politicians can commit against the sovereign people is to deprive them of their own nation's integrity. Our government has done this regarding Cuba. We must pay for it, God help us.

There is no such thing as a simple moral problem. If it's simple, there is no problem. But of this you can be sure: *Broken promises, unattainable promises, false promises—these three things are the curse of men and nations.*

Our broken words, our idle warnings, our defunct solemn, solemn pledges about Cuba and the Soviet lodgement—will history forget these? No. History, instead, will engulf us in the results of them. *For a nation faithless to its word is listening to the death tick in the rafters.*

It makes no difference what our President said or did not say to Dr. Jose Miro Cardona. President Kennedy spoke plenty to the world. Our nation heard, and the world heard, what America said again and again: "we will not tolerate, we will not hesitate;" "communism is not negotiable in the Western Hemisphere," etc., etc. Twin columns this length could not house the eloquent, ringing warnings, quotations and guarantees.

From the Bay of Pigs forward to our October 22 Munich, every one of these pledges has turned to mere intention and melted like rancid, infected butter.

One commotion at a time, however, is about all the public mind can stand. Nothing is more convenient now than a debate about Dr. Miro!

But, what has this to do with confronting the Red cancer 90 miles from our shores, with Castro and his Russian masters, with our so-called, "fight for freedom," in the world? The people of the free world expect the President of the United States to lead America against the Communists, not against the anti-Communists.

Fanfare and a sound of plausibleness will win the White House battle against Dr. Miro, et al. It will even succeed in obscuring the incredible fact that we are fighting against Castro's enemies instead of against Castro. It will obscure the debacle of having our policies and actions end up with a blockade against the freedom fighters instead of against the Soviet lodgement, now given sanctuary by our own great Air Force and the U. S. Navy. And, most importantly, it will also obscure how we got in this incredible position in the first place.

The turn for the better must occur right here in America, and within the White House itself. A great awakening must occur within our President himself, to undo his failures by turning our attention, our will, our force and his brains against appeasement, against the cover-up and against our enemies. For our enemies' attention, will, force and brains are turned against us. *Can we meet these well by running backward?*

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Steel 'Monopoly': Left-Wing Myth

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The left-wing extremists may lose battles, but they never give up their hold on erroneous ideas.

Thus, when the steel companies were selectively raising prices on flat-rolled products that are in high demand, the "Kennedy-doesn't-fight-hard-enough" wing of the left wing complained that the Department of Justice should have carried through on its tacit 1962 threat to go after the steel "monopoly."

Well, the charge that steel is a "monopoly" that must always follow the lead of the United States Steel Corporation is always good for a few shivers. Nevertheless, it flies in the face of some 50 years of industrial history, rationally considered.

The truth is that the United States Steel Corp. can establish no effective "price umbrella" save in periods of intense demand for steel products—and in such periods any company which would refuse to follow big steel in taking all it can get for its wares would mark itself off as either a stupid competitor or a downright traitor to its stockholders' interests.

The truly interesting thing about the running story of the recent steel raises was a casual mention of a single statistic covering United States Steel's share of the total market. The figure was 26 per cent. The great "monopolist," then, gets only about a quarter of the business in 1963, which is a horrendous drop from its market share back in 1903 and 1904, when it had 66 per cent of the total.

What the left wing refuses to recognize is that the steel business deals in almost as great a variety of products in the wholesale business as Woolworth's does in retail, which means that if a company can't make a success in on market it has only to concentrate on another.

The proliferation of the steel business began very shortly after J. P. Morgan thought he had created an all-powerful steel trust at the turn of the 20th century. He had merged the Carnegie properties with his own Illinois steel interests, and had bought the Mesabi iron ore range from John D. Rockefeller. This combination gave United States Steel two-thirds of the steel market.

Then the erosion started. Charles Schwab quit U. S. Steel to go to work for Bethlehem. The chemists went to work to create the dazzling world of the specialty alloy business. Cyrus Eaton started to put together the company which, in other hands, became the Republic Steel Corp. Armco pioneered the continuous strip mill. And so it went.

Soon U. S. Steel, though still a whopper, was just one of a number of competitive companies. *Monopoly? Tell it to the Marines. Or to the extremist factions of the left wing. They'll believe anything.*

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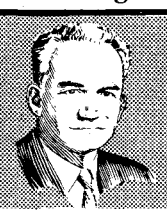

The Growing Angola Problem

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

The problem of Angola in West Africa is still plaguing one of our important North Atlantic Treaty Alliance partners, the Portuguese. But the U.S. government is strangely quiet about one important facet of that problem, the maintenance on Belgian Congo soil of a camp where men are being trained for an armed invasion of Angola.

The Congo government of Cyrille Adoula is openly supporting the movement aimed at the Portuguese province. Moreover, the revolutionary camp has the active support of Algerian Premier Ben Bella, who came to this country to negotiate for American aid and then went on to Havana where he pledged his undying support of Fidel Castro.

There can be no doubt that the action of the Adoula government in helping to pave the way for an invasion of Angola is a violation of the U. N. charter. And it is perfectly obvious that the United Nations, dominated by the Afro-Asian bloc, is not about to pay any attention to the Portuguese protests.

This being the case, the whole question comes back to Washington and the attitude of the U.S. government. For the Adoula government in the Belgian Congo exists primarily through the support of the United States. While the Congo budget is about $400 million a year, the country's internal income is only about $160 million. Somebody must pick up the tab, of course, and in this case it is the United States, which contributed over $200 million in 1962.

Quite naturally, the Portuguese want to know why the United States doesn't insist that the Adoula government disband the training camp and put a halt to the flow of arms and trained guerrillas from Algeria and Tunisia. As our NATO ally sees the situation, Adoula would have no choice but to agree if we took a firm stand against his tacit participation in a program of armed aggression.

To say the very least, the New Frontier's attitude on the question of Portuguese provinces is confused and contradictory. In March 1961, we voted against Portugal at the United Nations on the Angolan question. But late in 1962, we pulled away from the Afro-Asian bloc and voted against resolutions urging sanctions and other punitive measures aimed at the Portuguese.

If we continue to acquiesce in the maintenance of a rebel camp in the Congo and in other moves aimed at Angola, we will be well on the way to creating another situation similar to the Belgian Congo.

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Rocky's Future Dim in Dixie

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

An old bugaboo that cost Bob Taft the Republican nomination for President is beginning to haunt Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

To date, only one congressional Republican, Ohio's John Ashbrook, has charged publicly that "Rockefeller can't win." But increasing numbers of GOP leaders agree that Rockefeller has about as much chance of presidential victory as James Eastland would have of carrying Harlem.

Rocky's younger brother, Winthrop, indicated why only last week. Insisting that he still backed his brother for the Presidency, Winthrop said that Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater was far and away the most popular Republican in Dixie.

And Winthrop, who runs the Arkansas GOP, admitted that even there, Goldwater was probably the favorite of party regulars and dissident Democrats.

Dallas' Peter O'Donnell, the 38-year-old political veteran who heads up the Texas GOP, is blunt: "The only way a Republican candidate can win in 1964 is to carry the South. This Goldwater can do. Rockefeller can't."

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Allen-Scott Report

White House Ghost?

There is growing suspicion in Congress that White House aides are signing some of President Kennedy's official papers.

That doubt was raised when the White House delivered a document to a clerk in the office of the secretary of the Senate who was startled to discover that it bore two presidential signatures, both on the same page and each slightly different.

When the White House was questioned about this curious duplication, a messenger hurriedly appeared and asked for the return of the document, saying a new one would be substituted. The explanation offered by the White House was that the President "must have signed the paper twice by mistake."

When the replacement arrived, the President's signature was similar to others signed by him.

This backstage mystery has been called to the attention of Senate Democratic leaders. What they will do about it, if anything, is conjectural. But the question still remains, who is really signing the President's signature?

Or is anyone signing it? Maybe a stamp is being used.

(Distributed 1963 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

DEFENSE LEAKS—Robert S. McNamara isn't the first secretary of defense to be bewildered by the way secret reports mushroom so that they can be leaked to newspapers by the service they favor. When the late Charles Wilson was secretary, he learned that one of the seven copies of a potentially embarrassing report was about to be leaked, and ordered that all seven had better be turned in to him—or else. The number turned in was 134.—Walter Trohan in the Chicago *Tribune*.

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GETTING A NEW FACTORY

One City's Gain Is Another's Loss

(Reprints of this article are available. See page 95.)

The good news that Evansville, Ind., is getting a new Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) plant is bad news for some other community. So said Lawrence Litchfield Jr., Alcoa president, in an address to the Evansville Chamber of Commerce. Said Litchfield:

". . . no company can decide to build a plant in one location without making the decision not to build the plant somewhere else.

"Deciding not to build a plant—deciding to shut down an existing plant—deciding to end operations in one community and start them in another—all of these decisions are among the toughest any businessman has to make."

The Alcoa chief executive stressed the important role of profit. His remarks to the Evansville chamber continued, in part:

Late in 1960, for example, changing patterns in the competition made it imperative that Alcoa consolidate some of its aluminum castings sections. One was in Detroit; another in Cleveland.

Local and state taxes were important cost factors at both installations. However, when we compared the facts, we found that, in 1960, state and local taxes in Michigan amounted to 4.98 per cent of our capital investment. The same taxes in Ohio amounted to only 1.04 per cent.

Based on these costs alone, Alcoa was paying more than four times as much for the right to do business in Detroit as in Cleveland.

After weighing other costs—which proved to be much alike—we settled for Cleveland.

I think Alcoa management has the right to ask this question: Did Alcoa make the decision to consolidate at Cleveland, or was that decision made for us largely by the citizens and government of the State of Michigan?

I believe the decision in large part was made for us, not by us.

And that brings us to a second question: Why has Alcoa decided to cast its lot with this community instead of some other?

In recent months, Alcoa has held serious and frank discussions with its Evansville neighbors. There have been talks about the tax situation. There have been talks about ways to improve labor-management relationships. There have been talks with employes about what we can do to help reduce costs.

LAWRENCE LITCHFIELD JR.

". . . too many of us look upon profits as something hidden, probably exorbitant and possibly evil."

We at Alcoa believe you understand that business, to be permanent and healthy, must live in an environment where there is long-term tax stability—where labor-management relations are characterized by prudence and good judgment—where the economic needs of one segment of the community are not allowed to overshadow the life and vigor of the community as a whole.

Let's put it another way. Alcoa believes that the people of this area understand that the basic, all-important function of a business is to turn a profit—that a business cannot fulfill its community and social obligations without earnings—that without a profit, any business must die—that business is not a social institution or a charity, worthy though these causes may be, but an organization that can survive only through dollars-and-cents profits.

What about profits? Are they something good or something bad?

Do profits divide us—plutocrats on the one hand and slaves on the other—or do they make growth and freedom possible?

Certainly there is evidence to an alarming degree that all too many of us look upon profits as something hidden, probably exorbitant and possibly evil.

In a recent national survey of students from seventh grade through college, better than 60 per cent believed the following statements to be true:

- **Business owners get more money than workers from increases in machinery output.**
- **Owners get too much money compared with employes.**
- **In some fields, so much power is concentrated in the hands of so few companies that it is bad for the nation.**

More than 63 per cent of the seventh graders tested believe the government should control large company profits; 57 per cent of the high school seniors and 47 per cent of the college freshmen agreed. In a later survey of adults, a whopping 42 per cent agreed.

There were two statistics which particularly frightened me. The first was this: Of college students majoring in education, only 20 per cent got any exposure to economics. The second was:

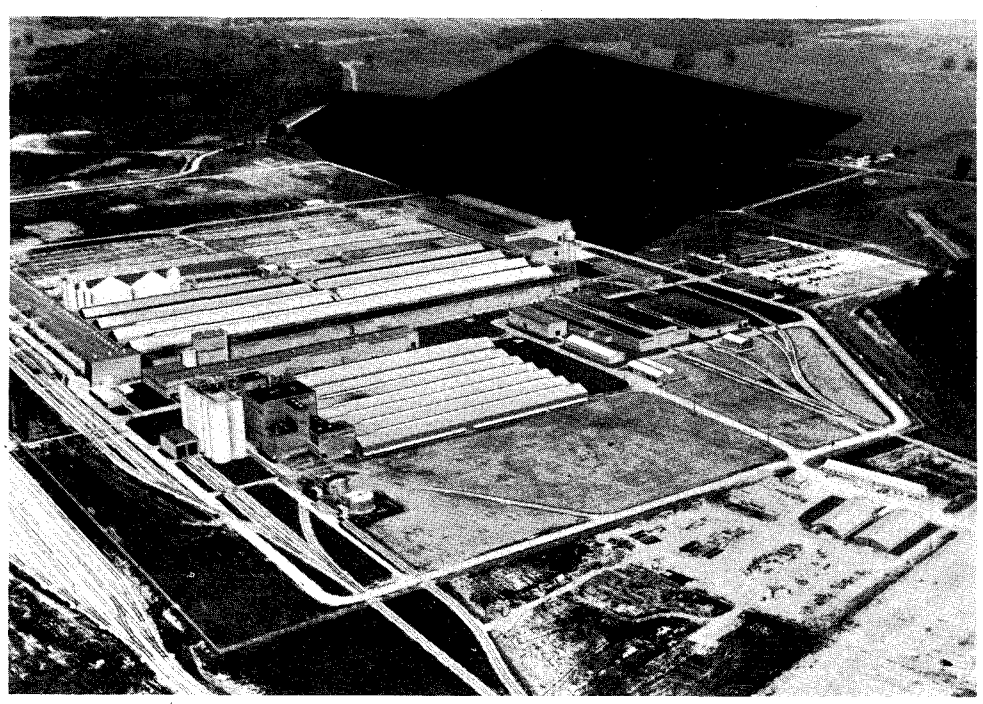
When asked: "Why do people work?" only 6 per cent of the young people interviewed answered, "Because they like to work."

These are Americans, mind you—not children brought up as the heirs of socialism.

I suggest you ask your own children what they understand about profits. Ask them if they really understand and endorse these facts of life: that the reason, directly or indirectly, that they can go to school or college, the reason there are schools and colleges with teachers and physical facilities, the reason there are churches, hospitals, YMCAs, Boy Scout camps and all the other advantages they take for granted, is because someone—a lot of someones in fact—made profits.

I might add here that in 1961, a number of our finest corporations paid their stockholders—their owners—no more than they would have received had they left their money safe and sound in the bank.

They got nothing in compensation for risking their capital, a risk always present in business. When a corporation has to do this, it places itself in a poor position to ask the public—or present owners—to provide more funds for growth in the future.



AERIAL VIEW of the proposed site of a new rolling mill to be built by the Aluminum Co. of America at Evansville, Ind. The multi-million-dollar plant will produce 120 million pounds of aluminum sheet a year and will provide peak employment of 1,500 during construction and create approximately 1,000 new jobs, plus an additional 300 to 400 more jobs at Alcoa's nearby Warrick smelter.

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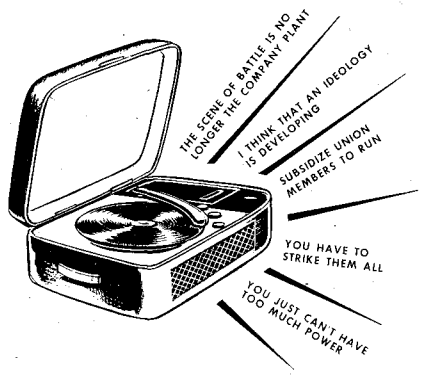
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OUTSTANDING EDITORIALS
From the Nation's Press

New Farm Surplus: Too Many Bureaucrats

From the Omaha *World-Herald*

A Washington item said the other day that employment in the Department of Agriculture had almost quadrupled—from 32,000 to 121,000 since 1933; while the number of farms dropped almost by half—from 6,800,000 to 3,700,000.

This raises the interesting possibility that some day there may be as many farm bureaucrats as there are farms. One Department of Agriculture employe and his family for every family-size farm. One family to do the farming and another to tell them how to do it.

But we fear the trend would not stop with such a happy arrangement. Within a few generations there might be many times as many farm bureaucrats as farms, maybe one government employe per acre, at which point Washington would have to set up a support program and start storing surplus bureaucrats, thus providing more paper work for more government employes and so on, ad infinitum.

We are not sure how our descendants will handle that surplus problem but we doubt that Henry Wallace's old-fashioned idea would work, because there might not be enough farmers to plow all those bureaucrats under.

Wolf!

From the Washington *Daily News*

Whenever Congress reduces the appropriation of a government department it always turns out to be a calamity—according to officials of the department.

It is SOP (standard operating procedure) to "cry wolf" about the time Congress is deciding how much money to grant any agency.

Consider: The House reduced the Post Office Department appropriation by around $92 million, which is less than 2 per cent of the estimated funds available to the department.

Postmaster Gen. Day can't stand it.

He says if the cuts are not restored, the Post Office will have to eliminate Saturday deliveries, refuse to serve new office and apartment buildings and cut back on research, mechanization, etc. He even went down the line on some of the big cities—a tactic which should, he hopes, impress the congressmen from those areas.

If Congress listened to all these scares every time an appropriation was reduced, not even the sky would do as a limit on the national debt.

Hollywood's JFK Touch

From the Oklahoma City *Oklahoman*

"PT-109," the Hollywood film based on the President's World War II experiences, probably will be big at the box office. At least it contains one characteristic Kennedy touch. Budgeted at $1 million, it has now cost the producer $7 million.

'Gloomy Moment in History'

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

A reader has passed on to us a pamphlet reprinting this editorial evaluation of world problems:

"It is a gloomy moment in history. Not in the lifetime of any man who reads his newspaper has there been so much grave and deep apprehension. Never has the future seemed so dark and incalculable.

"In France, the political cauldron seethes and bubbles with uncertainty. England and the British Empire is being sorely tried and exhausted in a social and economic struggle.

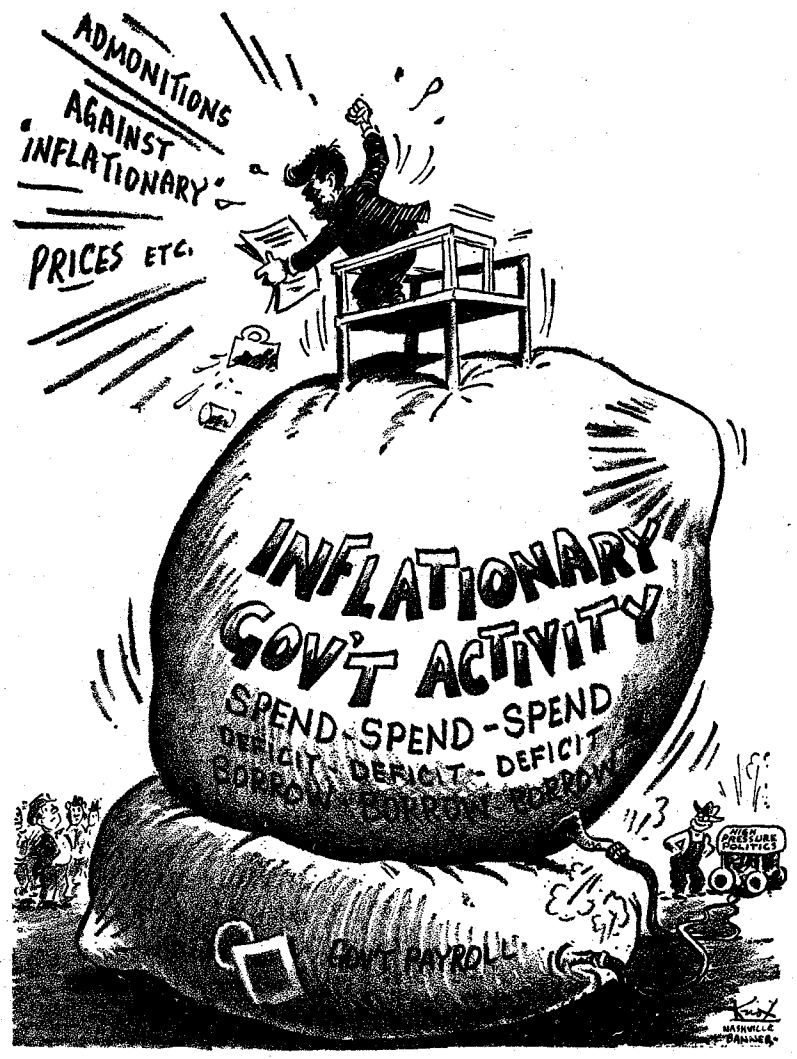
"The United States is beset with racial, industrial and commercial chaos drifting we know not where.

"Russia hangs like a stormcloud on the horizon of the world—dark, menacing and foreboding. It is a solemn moment and no man can feel indifference which, happily, no man pretends to feel in the issue of events. Of our own troubles no man can see the end."

The editorial did not originate this week. It appeared in *Harper's* magazine—on Oct. 10, 1847.

So, you see, some problems have been around a long time. This should not generate complacency or defeatism, but determination to face our problems of today as wisely and courageously as we can.

The Lecture Platform



Courtesy *Nashville Banner*

Eaton and the UMW

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Cyrus E. Eaton—the Cleveland financier who has been a long-time admirer of Khrushchev and things Russian and a long-time critic of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and things American—was revealed recently to have ventured into a new field.

Filing its annual financial report to the Labor Department, as required by law, the United Mine Workers disclosed that four corporations controlled by Eaton owe the union $12,397,438!

Whatever hanky-panky is involved in the transaction between the multi-millionaire and one of the richest of the unions was not shown, naturally, by the mere listing of the figures. But when a corporation borrows from a union, a boss from his workers, a general from a private, it is generally advisable to suspect the worst.

In military circles, where the principle is best illustrated, discipline collapses invariably when the men "outrank" the officers in social prestige or economic status. When a general accepts favors from his men, when a captain makes a "touch" on them, it's the men who are really running the show.

In labor circles, a similar reversal of the normal economic pattern occurs when loans are made between management and labor. "Sweetheart contracts" is the term. When men supposed to be bargaining are buddy-buddy, with one in debt to the other, chances are they will come to a cozy understanding—at the expense of stockholders, union members or both!

What goes on between Eaton and the UMW in this deal, the record doesn't show. But when a financier—even one with a yen for Communists and their ways—doesn't borrow his money from a bank, it still looks funny.

Will the FCC Silence Dissent?

From the Oakland *Tribune*

In Red Lion, Pa., there is a privately-owned short-wave radio station which beams its programs toward Africa and Europe—and the Soviet satellite nations.

The station carries the commentaries of one Dr. Carl McIntire, who takes a strong position against communism and allegedly questions the value of American participation in the United Nations.

His positions are at odds with the New Frontier, in general, and the United States Information Agency, in particular.

Recently the USIA became unhappy about the fact that Dr. McIntire's commentaries were contradicting the official U.S. "line" abroad. So it asked the Federal Communications Commission to look into the situation and see whether the Pennsylvania station were violating FCC regulations.

Among licensing regulations of the FCC is this provision: "A licensee of an international broadcast station shall render only an international broadcast service which will reflect the culture of this country and which will promote international good will, understanding and cooperation." The provision does not apply to broadcasts beamed within the United States.

FCC Chairman Minow has not yet taken action against the short-wave station, but he has indicated that the FCC may establish ground rules that would prohibit short-wave stations to contradict the official positions of the USIA. Mr. Minow said that the problem centers on whether opposition to the United Nations reflects American philosophy.

The idea of shutting off a dissenting voice is loathsome to all who value freedom of information and opinion. And the idea that only a certain, certified body of opinion can be called "American" is equally loathsome, as is the concept that the United States must speak in a single voice abroad.

Dr. McIntire's views reflect the culture and thinking of a vast body of Americans. It is not the purpose of this editorial to endorse or oppose these views, but merely to emphasize that they are widespread. The FCC regulation clearly does not say that a short-wave station must express the views of the administration holding the reins of government; it merely states the views must reflect the culture of the country. And the country is the people, not the government.

It has been suggested, with some validity, that the mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is too broad because it is difficult to define what is un-American, per se. If this is the case, then surely the opponents of HCUA ought to be up in arms against the attempt to silence a viewpoint that is unquestionably American.

In fact, any attempt by the FCC to censor any American opinion should meet the wrath of all freedom-loving Americans.

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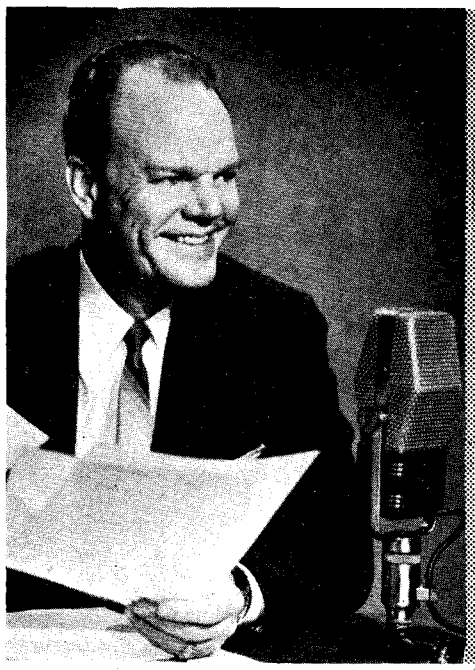

"A TYRANT WILL NOT COME FROM OVERSEAS"

By PAUL HARVEY

In the early morning hours of April 13, 1962, in Philadelphia, an American citizen was roused from his sleep by a knock on the door. Federal police. Without the knowledge of their immediate superior, without writs or warrants, with no claim of wrongdoing against the citizen, with no questions to ask which could not wait until morning, these federal police intruded on the privacy of said citizen.

They had a mandate from the nation's highest law enforcement officer, the attorney general of the United States. The attorney general was supposed to be a servant, not the master of the sleeping citizen.

In New York City a similar event took place.

In the following hours a grand jury was impaneled to "investigate possible criminal collusion in connection with the increased price of steel."

In the following hours committees of the Congress undertook investigations, one of the stated ends being punishment.

In the Pentagon, orders went out to deny government business to any steel company which had raised its price.

Now, what had the steel companies done to bring the terrible force and power of the "Presidency" down around their heads?

They raised prices.

I, personally, was astonished at their incredibly bad timing. Yet what they did was lawful. There is no federal, state or local statute against raising the price of steel or toothbrushes or grass seed. We have a free domestic market. Or did have.

If a citizen commits a lawful act and the government, unlawfully, applies against him the utmost coercive power, what has happened to us?

Have we thought we were safer than we are?

On whose door do the federal police knock next?

And when might they neglect even to bother to knock?

Mr. Justice Holmes once said, in effect, "if a chap wants to build a slaughter house and I look in the book and find nothing that says he can't—let him build the slaughter house."

Thus were Americans historically limited by their government, and thus was their government limited.

Are we still able to rely on the certainty of a government of laws, or are we now at the mercy of a government of men?

Those who are criticizing the President for his act might better criticize "we, the people," who have permitted this perversion of the Presidency—gradually, over the years.

We have asked the Presidency to do many things for us which we should have done for ourselves. To do these things the Presidency had to get bigger and bigger and more powerful. We have tolerated a multiplication of laws, by loose construction of our Constitution, by liberal grants of general powers, by forgetting that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. So the unchecked and unbalanced power we intended for use against our enemies, at the whim of one man, now may be loosed on ourselves.

Mr. Lincoln said that a tyrant would not come to the United States from across the seas. If he comes, he'll ride down Pennsylvania Avenue from his inauguration and take up "legal" residency of the White House.

We're moving toward that end at a hellish rate! I will not let myself believe we have already passed the point of no return. I have a son. I will not let myself believe it.

But I know it can happen here, and I dedicate whatever is left of my life to seeing that it does not.

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Now Rocky Talks Economy

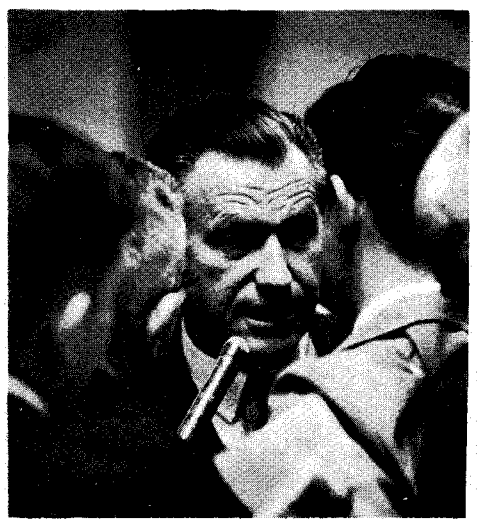
From the New York *Daily News*

Short weeks ago, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller rammed through the legislature a record-breaking $2.81-billion budget. His less than enthusiastic Republican majorities at Albany were able to achieve only minor reductions from the amount the governor originally wanted to spend.

Now, His Excellency is reading the economy riot act to the department and agency heads in his administration. They must, he tells them, pinch every penny, shave every dime.

If he runs for President next year, the governor doesn't want to run with a spend-and-spend tag on him.

What we'd like to know is why, if all these economies are possible, the governor didn't think of them before he dreamed up that huge budget instead of after. Or is his hindsight chronically better than his foresight?



NELSON ROCKEFELLER

What's in a Package?

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

How far should the Food and Drug Administration go in protecting the American consumer?

The FDA, as its name suggests, was created to make certain that foods and drugs marketed in the United States were pure and that they were in fact what they purported to be. The effect of the FDA's creation and its subsequent work has been to afford the American consumer a degree of protection necessary to his health and safety—protection that could scarcely have come from any other quarter.

Now, however, it is proposed by Senator Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.) that the FDA's powers and the powers of the Federal Trade Commission be broadened considerably. Senator Hart and his supporters contend that the American shopper is confused by the great variety of brands, sizes and prices in today's market place and that he frequently finds it impossible to make a "rational" decision.

They also contend that food manufacturers and processors have engaged in deceptive packaging and labeling practices. . . .

To correct what he regards a shortcoming in existing laws, Sen. Hart proposes that the FDA and the FTC be given broad authority to standardize package sizes, to determine shapes of packages, to establish when "small," "medium" and "large" designations may be used and to set standards for the term "servings." The Hart proposal would also prohibit "cents-off" promotions and such qualifying terms as "giant half quart."

The Hart bill, which has gone to the Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is encountering stiff opposition—and deservedly so.

For the practices that Sen. Hart finds so deceptive and misleading are, in reality, earmarks of the fierce competition in America's food industry. This competition, be it noted, is the friend—not of the food producers and marketers—but of the consumer. The fact that the typical American supermarket offers some 8,000 items for sale means that every purchase is the result of the shopper's analysis and comparison.

The shopper that is beguiled by deception rarely errs more than once, and the offending food processor finds himself quickly boycotted by alert and competent shoppers. The vast majority of American housewives are in much the same position as the proverbial sheep: They may be sheared many times, but skinned only once.

It seems to us that the Hart proposal is one of a series of measures that have come before Congress in recent years—all of them reflecting a keen distrust of the market place and of the free-enterprise system in general. The goal, witting or unwitting, is to put the American economy into a strait jacket; to standardize and to control.

But it is competition that has given Americans the highest standard of living in the world. Let no one forget that in a free market place the consumer is sovereign: It is his decision to buy or not to buy that brings success to some producers and failure to others.

To inject a third party—in this case the government—into the producer-consumer relationship in areas where there is no clear necessity, is to tamper with a formula that has served America too well to be abandoned.

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Rocky and Happy

By TED LEWIS

It is supposed to be of help to a Presidential prospect to have the little woman by his side on the campaign trail, but is this true in the case of Gov. Rockefeller?

This is but one of many similar questions being booted around Capitol corridors and headquarters of both political parties since Mrs. Margaretta (Happy) Murphy obtained her Idaho divorce. What is most interesting is that there are more schools of thought here about Rocky's best romantic course of political action than about what Kennedy should do about Cuba.

The fact is that the subject is not a peephole one. The private-life problem of any major officeseeker or office holder has political significance and definitely comes under the heading of information the public has a right to before voting. After all, should Gov. Rockefeller remarry, his bride could just turn out to be the next First Lady of the land.

Here, for what they are worth, are two of the questions raised about Rocky's possible remarriage plans, along with the answers from a cross-section of GOP and Democratic sources:

1—If the governor plans to marry Mrs. Murphy, when would be the most politically advisable time? The responses to this vary. One commentator who has been pushing Rockefeller for the GOP presidential nomination said "by all means" the governor should wait until after the November 1964 election. Others generally inclined to a date late this fall, on the basis that for propriety's sake a respectable interval of five months after divorce would be smart. Moreover, this would allow Rocky to enter the 1964 party convention with the whole matter well behind him.

2—Would remarriage improve Rockefeller's national political chances, or would he run better if he remains a bachelor? Again there is no meeting of political minds.

Several of those willing to offer free but private advice held that he was most hurt politically when his wife, Mary, divorced him in 1962 after 31 years of marriage. Therefore, it would make little difference whether he stayed single or got hitched. Others felt he would get more votes if nominated for President if he were married. This was on the basis that Mrs. Murphy is the likely second Mrs. Rockefeller and would add glamor appeal to the campaign.

This is the sort of chitchat going around here, and Republican congressional leaders are of the cloakroom opinion that as long as the mystery is allowed to persist about Rocky's future domestic plans it is going to hurt him more than help him. They favor the facts on the line, and soon.

There has been no deluge of mail in congressional offices on the subject, but there has been some, most of it critical of the governor. A constituent of one New York congressman wrote complaining about Rockefeller's continued "no comment" to questions concerning Mrs. Murphy.

"Why he keeps on laughing when he says 'no comment' I cannot understand," said the letter writer. "He seems to be making a joke of it."

Another who put down a staunch preference for Sen. Barry Goldwater for President, criticized the 54-year-old governor as "too old to act like a playboy."

None of the more respected veterans of political campaigns is sure of what impact Rockefeller's domestic situation is likely to have on the voters should he run against President Kennedy. They have no precedents to go on. All agree, however, that regardless of whether the governor remarries or stays single, he would be hurt most in the industrial states where the Catholic vote is heaviest.

There are 14 key states in this category: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, California, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, Maryland and Montana. Kennedy in 1960 carried all of these except California, Ohio, Wisconsin and Montana.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that Kennedy, before deciding to seek the Presidency in 1960, once remarked that Adlai Stevenson, in his opinion, could never carry Massachusetts because he was divorced. Whether Adlai might have fared better had he remarried is and always will be a moot question, so Rockefeller has no guideline from that source.

The only time in this century when the romantic interest of a presidential candidate figured in a White House campaign was in 1916. That provides no real guideline, either, although it does show that under certain circumstances the public responds in unexpected fashion.

In that instance it was the President himself who was involved. The first Mrs. Woodrow Wilson had died in August 1914. Wilson married Edith Bolling Galt, a widow, in December 1915.

Mrs. Galt was 43 at the time, Wilson was 59. In his book, *Mr. Wilson's War* (Doubleday, $6.95, 558 p.p.), John Dos Passos recalls that "there had been disagreement among the President's intimates as to whether his early remarriage would hurt him or help him in the campaign for re-election coming up in 1916."

But Col. Edward M. House, who was Wilson's chief political adviser, "made a tactful canvass of political friends, and the decision was that remarriage would not hurt the President politically."

Wilson did win, but by the closest kind of electoral vote—California providing the victory margin. Would he have won easier had he remained a widower and abandoned his romantic interest? Let Rocky figure that one out, we can't.

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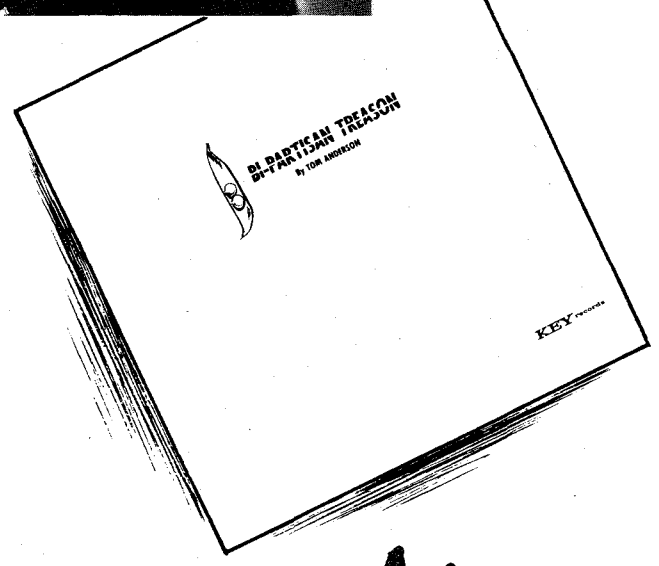
Tom Anderson goes on record



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A native of Tennessee and graduate of Vanderbilt University, Tom Anderson served as a Naval Officer overseas during World War II. Beating his sword into an editorial plowshare, Tom then embarked on his notable career in agricultural journalism. He is President, Editor-in-Chief and majority owner of "FARM AND RANCH MAGAZINE." Tom also owns five other agricultural publications with a combined circulation in excess of 1,300,000.

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32 Northern Liberal Democrats :

Are They Phonies on Civil Rights?

Who are the phonies on the civil rights issue? That question was answered decisively during the Senate debate on the Youth Employment Bill when northern liberal Democrats, who usually throb with concern for the civil rights of minority groups, lined up with Southern Democrats to defeat amendments requiring integration in the Youth Conservation Corps.

This revealing situation developed when Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) asked why provisions prohibiting discrimination and segregation in the proposed corps had not been included in the bill.

Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) responded by pointing to testimony by Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy in which he opposed writing civil rights guarantees into the bill but assured the Senate that the bill would be administered in a non-discriminatory manner.

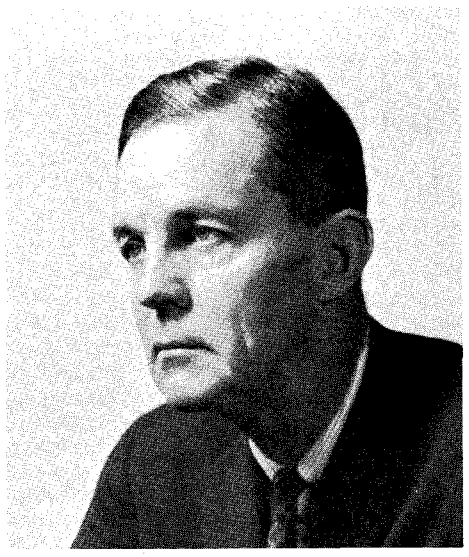
"If this is the way the act will be administered," retorted Sen. John G. Tower (R.-Texas) "why not provide legal authority for doing so? I think these actions should be taken with legal authority.

"The testimony given by the attorney general and the questions asked of him are not a part of legislative history. They have not the force and effect of legislation.

"I further ask the senator [Mr. Clark] if he means that a southerner can salve his conscience and vote for the bill if there is not in the bill a provision that the administrator can do something he may do anyway?"

Sen. Clark confirmed Sen. Tower's suspicions with this answer: "It is my task, as the senator in charge of the bill, to endeavor to have the bill passed. I will do my best to have it passed, but 'I ain't agonna get it done if I take your civil rights rider.' "

HUBERT HUMPHREY



JOSEPH CLARK

Sen. Tower, a consistent states rights supporter who, in his own words, has "never advocated the denial of constitutional guarantees to any American citizen," then introduced three civil rights amendments. One passed—requiring no discrimination in the selection of corpsmen. The two others were defeated: (1) banning discrimination in the use of corps facilities and (2) prohibiting federal assistance under the act to any private group or local government agency that practices segregation.

Teaming up with a number of Southern Democrats to defeat these two anti-segregation provisions were these 32 Northern liberal Democrats: Clinton Anderson, N. M., E. L. Bartlett, Alaska, Birch Bayh, Ind., Alan Bible, Nev., Daniel Brewster, Md., Quentin Burdick, N. D., Robert C. Byrd, W. Va., Howard Cannon, Nev., Frank Church, Idaho, Joseph Clark, Pa., Ernest Gruening, Alaska, Carl Hayden, Ariz., Hubert Humphrey, Minn., Daniel Inouye, Hawaii, Henry Jackson, Wash., Ted Kennedy, Mass., Warren Magnuson, Wash., Mike Mansfield, Mont., Eugene McCarthy, Minn., Gale McGee, Wyo., George McGovern, S. D., Thomas McIntyre, N. H., Patrick McNamara, Mich., Lee Metcalf, Mont., Mike Monroney, Okla., Wayne Morse, Ore., Frank Moss, Utah, Edmund Muskie, Maine, Maurine Neuberger, Ore., John O. Pastore, R. I., Claiborne Pell, R. I. and Stephen Young, Ohio.

This remarkable lineup prompted Sen. Goldwater to comment, "When we characterize senators as heroes of particular campaigns, we should include . . . the senator from Texas [Mr. Tower]. He finally brought the issue out: Who are the phonies on civil rights? His question has been answered without a doubt."

Automation Increases Number of Jobs

By HOWARD E. KERSHNER

The widespread fear that automation will cause unemployment is not borne out by the facts. In 1760, when King George III mounted the British throne, about 40,000 persons were employed in cotton manufacturing in that country. Shortly thereafter new and improved machines were introduced enabling one worker to do as much work as two or three hundred had been doing. In the printing of cotton goods, new machines enabled one person to do what 100 had been doing.

In spite of this extreme example of automation, 75 years later the number of persons employed in cotton manufacturing had increased 37 times to a total of 1,500,000.

To take a modern example, the Bell Telephone Co. introduced dial telephones in 1920. Since that time, the number of people employed by the telephone company has increased two and one-half times, and a cross-country telephone call that cost $16.50 in 1920 costs $2.25 today. Automation has, therefore, reduced the cost to little more than 15 per cent of what it was 42 years ago, and at the same time has supplied jobs to two and one-half times as many people.

In 1900 there were 27.5 million employed persons in our country. Since that time automation has proceeded rapidly but we now have 71 million persons employed. During this period the number of employed persons has expanded faster than the growth of the population. In 1900, 36 per cent of our people were working while the current figure is 39 per cent.

Automation has not deprived people of jobs, it has created more jobs and it is responsible for the enormous increase in the standard of living that has taken place.

The fact is that automation is a great blessing to us all. It enables eight per cent of the working force of the United States to produce enough food and fiber for the entire nation. One hundred and ten years ago, 64 per cent of our workers were employed on the land. This means that seven men in every eight who formerly worked at farming have been released to do other things that add to our comfort and well-being. All this we owe to automation.

By contrast, in Russia, where there has been much less automation, 50 per cent of the working force must still work on the land. Even so, there is a great shortage of food in Russia and other Communist countries.

Automation enables us to use our muscles less and our minds more. We shall have more time for study, and parents will have more time for the training of their children. We can devote more attention to education, to the development of our intellectual, cultural, charitable and religious activities.

Automation lifts the burden of heavy toil from the backs of men, and allows them to devote more of their energy to that part of their being which raises them above the animal kingdom and into the realm of the spirit. It represents the hope of mankind for relief from drudgery and emancipation into a world of greater interest and usefulness.

HEAR THESE . . . and a score of other leaders . . .

MOBILIZE TO WIN IN '64

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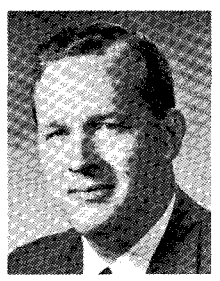
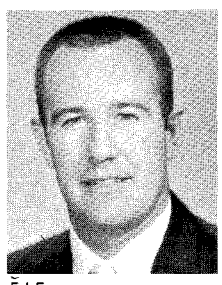
Arizona

Sen. Thruston B. Morton
Kentucky

Adm. Ben Moreell
USN (Ret.)



John M. Ashbrook
Ohio



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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Strange Loans

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Iowa farmers who have been denied rural housing loans from the Farmers Home Administration have good reason to shake their heads when they learn that this agency of the Agriculture Department in recent weeks has: Loaned $31,000 to an Indiana farmer to complete a nine-hole golf course (with up to 40 years to repay); approved a $17,500 loan to a North Carolina farmer to enlarge a golf course; advanced loans of $2,500 to an Arkansas farmer to finance a quail shooting gallery, and $2,400 to a Wisconsin farmer to build a camping site and boat dock.

Socialist Failure

By REP. CLARENCE J. BROWN (R.-Ohio)

Down in Brazilia, the new, modern capital of Brazil, the government operates a telephone system which requires 1,580 employes to service 5,000 telephones. In 300 other Brazilian cities, where private enterprise operates the telephone systems, the number of employes averages 280 for each 15,000 phones in service.

Losing Allies

By SEN. FRANK J. LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio)

We have helped to knock out Diefenbaker, weaken Macmillan, jar de Gaulle and to be indifferent to Adenauer. Ultra-leftwingers of our country want Franco of Spain and Salazar of Portugal eliminated, even though they are friendly to the cause of the West. We helped in the eradication of Batista and the establishment of Castro. . . . If we are to continue destroying our friends, our problems will grow more dangerous as time goes on. This we cannot endure. Manifestly, if we are to serve the best interest of our country, we must quit insulting and quit weakening the nations which wish to be friendly to our cause.

Spreading Depression

By REP. EDGAR F. FOREMAN (R.-Tex.)

I am very proud to be from an area, the West Texas area, not in a depressed situation; however, if we keep fooling around helping depressed areas, we are going to make a depressed area not only out of West Texas, but out of the entire country.

JFK's Socialism

By REP. BRUCE ALGER (R.-Tex.)

A recent news account of the meeting between President Kennedy and Harold Wilson, new Labor party leader—an avowed Socialist—has a rather interesting comparative reference. Mr. Wilson, professing to be a Socialist, outlined some of his plans, including the renationalizing of the steel industry, then flatly stated that he and President Kennedy see eye to eye on a number of issues. While I have never labled our President a Socialist, an analysis of his legislative recommendations do seem to follow the path a Socialist must follow to socialize this country, and would explain the President's many anti-capitalistic actions. Perhaps Mr. Wilson knows more than U.S. citizens are being told in our managed news environment as to the President's plans and is being prophetic for the future in both Great Britain and the United States.

Nothing's Free

By REP. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT (R.-Wis.)

You get nothing for nothing. You pay for everything you get and you pay more when the government does it than if you do it yourself.

New Frontier Bankruptcy

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S.D.)

JFK's program for tax cut and deficit spending to avoid a business slump is nothing less than an admission of bankruptcy. After two years in the White House he says that we can no longer pay our way and keep the economy rolling. Since the taxing end of the tax-and-spend philosophy has become politically unpopular, his plan obviously is to write off the debt through inflation—just about 10 per cent the first year. Here we are in peacetime, a creditor nation, with gross national product at its historical peak, with more people employed at higher wages than ever before anywhere, and now he tells us that we can no longer pay our way, and he wants to start the printing presses. If the country is not insolvent, then where is the bankruptcy, except in the minds of the inexperienced idea men in the White House?

Excessive Spending

By REP. JACK R. MILLER (R.-Iowa)

You simply cannot add hundreds of millions of dollars in expenditures for new programs—in the face of steadily mounting federal debt and continued inflation—and have a tax cut which will do anything more than give the people more dollars with less purchasing power.

Positive Program

By SEN. LEONARD B. JORDAN (R.-Idaho)

Every time a man is against inflation he is of necessity for sound economic principles and fiscal integrity. Every time a man is against the growth of the federal government and its further intervention into local affairs—he is automatically *for* strong state and local government rights. Every time a man is *against* group morality, a socialized economy, and coercion and regimentation by government—he has to be *for* safeguarding the rights of the individual and constitutional government. Every time a man is *against* surrendering control of our foreign or domestic affairs to international organizations dominated by nations whose ideals differ drastically from those of most Americans—he is undoubtedly *for* strengthening our national sovereignty and our national defense.

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Sick America

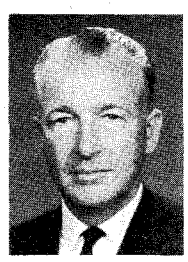
By REP. PAUL A. ROGERS (D.-Fla.)

Benjamin Disraeli said: "The health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a state depend." Were he alive today, Disraeli might also be concerned about the health of government, that of the United States as well as of his native England.

Disastrous Delay

By REP. LOUIS C. WYMAN (R.-N.H.)

Sooner or later the United States must move on Cuba. There is no use waiting for a trumped-up excuse. Castro's Moscow reception is an insult to every American citizen. Our people cry for an end to the Communist military buildup in Cuba. The other day in London, on his way to Moscow to cringe and beg once again, Averell Harriman said: "It is very important that we make the Communists realize that we are not going to stand for any nonsense." The only thing Mr. Harriman did not take with him was his umbrella. If there is any combination of words that the Communists do understand it is that this kind of gentlemanly nicety means once again that we are unwilling to stand up and be counted for freedom. . . . While Kennedy pussyfoots Communist ships continue to dock in Havana. Communist personnel and goods of war and potentials of war continue to be accumulated in our own backyard by the Godless punks who plot our destruction. . . . Every day that we delay now in ending Communist preparations in Cuba will eventually cost untold added numbers of American lives.



Goldwater Bandwagon

By REP. WILLIAM H. AVERY (R.-Kansas)

Although the science of political forecasting is always a hazardous one, I think it is certainly reasonable to observe that if the supporters of Sen. Goldwater can keep the present momentum rolling, he could capture the nomination and win the election in 1964.

Stimulate Business

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

The best thing that could be done for the employment situation in this country would be for the Administration to do what it has not done to date, and that is to take some action that might cause the business community in our country to have confidence in the Administration, to the extent that money will be invested and more productivity created, more jobs and a higher level of consumption. . . . Let us get away from the old idea that what is good for business is bad for the workingman. That is the worst myth ever perpetrated on the American people.

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